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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY JOURNAL

DEVOTED TO RESEARCH, THE PUBLICATION OF TEXTS AND
DOCUMENTS, CRITICAL DISCUSSIONS, NOTES, NEWS AND
COMMENT, IN THE FIELD OF THE ROMANCE
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Edited by

HENRY ALFRED TODD and RAYMOND WEEKS

With the cooperation of

EDWARD C. ARMSTRONG

LUCIEN FOULET

HENRY R. LANG

MILTON A. BUCHANAN

JOHN L. GERIG

ARTHUR LIVINGSTON

JOHN D. FITZ-GERALD

C. H. GRANDGENT

KENNETH MCKENZIE

J. D. M. FORD

GEORGE L. HAMILTON

HUGO A. RENNERT

EDWARD S. SHELDON

J. HUGHES SMITH

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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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DEUX POÈMES DE PEYRE CATHALA:

- I. Axi com celh que del tot s'abandona.
- II. Mos cors se mor lenguen, mays morts non es.

Lorsque je publiai ici même (ROMANIC REVIEW, XI (1920), pp. 195-222) une étude sur "Un poème inédit de Peyre Cardinal: *Si tots temps vols esser valents e pros*," je dus faire connaître que l'attribution de cette pièce au virulent troubadour du Puy avait été courtoisement, mais nettement contestée et que M. G. Bertoni la croyait de Peyre Cathala.

Cette objection avait été pour moi d'autant plus troublante et inattendue que je ne connaissais rien de Peyre Cathala. L'œuvre de ce troubadour venait, en effet, d'être révélée aux chercheurs, il y avait à peine quelques années, par M. J. Massò Torrents dans sa belle *Bibliografia dels antics poetes catalans* (Barcelone, 1914, p. 65); mais aucun texte n'avait encore été publié faisant connaître l'esprit de cette œuvre.

Je soumis donc l'opinion de M. Bertoni à l'examen de M. Massò Torrents lui-même, et l'on sait ce que me répondit en substance le consciencieux catalaniste et provençaliste: "Les pièces de Père Català ne sont pas dans le genre de celle que le même manuscrit attribue à Peyre Cardinal" (ROM. REV., *ibid.*, p. 197).

M. Massò ne se contenta point d'exprimer si clairement son opinion. Il voulut bien se donner la peine de relever les textes des deux premiers poèmes de P. Cathala et de me les envoyer en faisant remarquer que le second contenait des vers élogieux à l'adresse de Guillem Auger, et en exprimant l'espoir que je parviendrais à identifier ce personnage.

Je suis heureux de pouvoir faire connaître à M. Massò en lui

exprimant ma plus vive gratitude, que son souhait s'est réalisé et qu'une nouvelle page absolument inédite peut ainsi être inscrite dans l'histoire littéraire des troubadours.

I.—PREMIER POÈME

Le premier poème se trouve dans le manuscrit n°. 7 de la *Biblioteca de Catalunya* (*A* de Milá et *H*^a de Massò Torrents). Il est signalé dans la *Bibliografia* de Massò sous le n°. 49 et par la notice suivante :

“ p. 81, fol. lxiij. Apenes visible. *Pere Cathala?*

“ Axi com celh . . . bondar . . . ”

“ 1^r vers de la 2^a cobla :

“ Si col signes qui no xanta ni crida.”

“ 5 cobles de 11 versos, 1 tornada de 5.”

On voit, par ces renseignements, que le nom du troubadour et les premiers vers sont difficilement lisibles. Cela provient de ce que le poème commence une page et que le manuscrit a été fortement détérioré par l'humidité dans la tranche supérieure. Le second poème, qui suit immédiatement le premier, à la page 84, a subi le même sort.

Cependant, à la seconde lecture, M. Massò a pu nettement déchiffrer le nom de *Pere Cathala*. Un nouveau troubadour prend donc ainsi définitivement sa place dans les annales de la poésie provençale et l'on verra que l'étude des poèmes permettra de caractériser son œuvre, de la faire vivre à une époque nettement déterminée et de lui trouver des émules et un protecteur.

M. Massò put aussi reconstruire clairement les premiers vers effacés. Une seconde leçon du poème se trouve, en effet, dans un autre manuscrit, celui que M. Massò désigne par la lettre E, et qu'il décrit aux pages 36-39 de sa *Bibliografia*. Le manuscrit a été recueilli dans la bibliothèque particulière de Stanislas Aguiló, à Palma de Majorque. C'est un recueil factice remontant au XIV^e siècle, qui comprend des fragments de trois chansonniers et le *Compendi* d'En Castellnou. Là le poème qui nous occupe figure au f. 48 v°; le texte en est très lisible, et le premier vers est le suivant :

Axi com cell qui del tot s'abandona.

Aussi, M. Massò, grâce à cette nouvelle leçon a-t-il pu retrouver nettement le début qui est effacé dans *H*^a.

Mais le manuscrit E attribue la pièce à *P. Vidal*, et cette circonstance a déjà fait publier la leçon de E. M. J. Anglade, professeur de langue et de littérature méridionales à l'Université de Toulouse, avait, en effet, sur les indications de M. Massò, examiné ce texte lors d'un séjour à Barcelone en mai-juin 1916, l'avait transcrit et l'avait inséré l'année suivante dans le bel article de mélanges sur les troubadours qu'il fit paraître dans le *Bulletin de la Société archéologique du Midi de la France* (Toulouse, Privat, n^o. 45, novembre 1915-juillet 1917, pp. 195-245). Là, le texte, accompagné d'une étude très soignée et d'une traduction, figure aux pages 218-223.

M. Anglade ne s'est pas laissé tromper par l'attribution à *P. Vidal*. "La pièce, dit-il, n'est pas écrite dans la manière de Peire Vidal; il y a ici de la prétention et de la recherche, mais on n'y trouve pas, on n'y sent pas du moins ce je ne sais quoi par où les chansons du poète toulousain se distinguent de celles des autres troubadours. Nous ne croyons donc pas que l'attribution du manuscrit soit exacte."

Cette perspicacité a eu sa récompense. Quand je communiquai le nouveau texte à M. Anglade, celui-ci fut visiblement satisfait et m'écrivit (1^{er} août 1921) : "Oui, j'ai publié la pièce en question que M. Massò voulait attribuer à *P. Vidal*, mais qui évidemment n'était pas de sa façon."

M. Anglade avait regretté, d'ailleurs, que son poète ne fût pas l'auteur de la pièce et avait cherché le mobile qui a pu égarer le copiste : "Il semble difficile qu'on puisse l'attribuer au troubadour toulousain, et c'est dommage, d'ailleurs, car elle est d'un poète un peu prétentieux et recherché, mais d'un vrai poète. Le copiste qui la lui a attribuée devait avoir présent à la mémoire le début de la chanson : *Amors pres sui de la bera*; cf. le vers 8 : *ans sui pres de la mort*."

Voilà donc, cette fois, une question d'attribution nettement élucidée; et il semble que nous pourrions nous dispenser de republier un poème qui a été déjà si heureusement édité. Mais la nouvelle leçon est légèrement supérieure à celle du manuscrit E, au moins en ce qui concerne la graphie. Elle fournit aussi quelques variantes

intéressantes, et permet peut-être de bien comprendre la *tornada* qui a un instant embarrassé M. Anglade lui-même. C'est l'avis de M. A. Jeanroy à qui j'ai soumis le nouveau texte. L'éminent romaniste de la Sorbonne m'écrit, en effet: "Le texte fournit quelques bonnes variantes à celui publié par M. Anglade."

Un rapide rapprochement des deux textes fournit sans effort ces variantes et nous les signalerons par la méthode ordinaire, au bas du texte, en les faisant suivre de la lettre E (= manuscrit de Majorque).

TEXTE DU PREMIER POÈME

(d'après *H*^a, 49; variantes de E.)

P. 81.

Pere Cathala.

- | | | |
|-----|--|--------|
| 1 | Axi com celh qui del tot s'abandona | a (10) |
| | Per ben viure e per breumen morir | b (10) |
| | Ez entr'en loch don pus prest pot exir | b (10) |
| 4 | Ses gran perilh de perdre la persona, | a (10) |
| | Aital fay eu qui per viure joyos | c (10) |
| | E fis e franchs, sofrens ez amoros, | c (10) |
| | Am en tal loch de que negun conort | d (10) |
| 8 | No puesch haver. Ans suy pres de la mort | d (10) |
| | Si donchs <i>Amors</i> , conoxença, merces, | e (10) |
| | E ma dompna quez es flor[s] de tot[s] bes | e (10) |
| 11 | No'm volon dar breumen salut e vida. | f (10) |
| II. | Si co'l signes, qui no xanta ni crida | |
| | Entro quez es pres de la mort vengutz, | |
| | (Pus de xantar es ben apercebutz | |
| 15 | Qu'entro que mor son dolç xant no oblida) | |
| | Aytan pauch yeu oblit xants ne amors, | |
| | Ne ma dompna on <i>es</i> pretz <i>e</i> valors. | |
| | Que, tot axi com lauzeta d'estiu | |
| 19 | Quez en amor ab pauch de conduyt viu, | |
| | Axi suy yeu e d'estiu e d'ivern, | |
| | Quant tant que 'b pauch de vianda me govern, | |
| 22 | Si'm pex Amor[s] d'un pom qui tart madura. | |

- P. 82 III Co'l calandris qui es d' eytal natura
 Que no guarda'l malalt con deu morir,

- Ab son [e]sguard mi dons no'm vol guarir.
26 Ans, quant la vey, me cofon e'm pigura.
Mays contrafauç la roda del moli
Que pur vira, pero no's part d' aqui.
Aytant pauch yeu part d' amar fin' amor.
30 Mas conort mi cant say qu' es la gençor;
Per qu' yeu ho fau co'l bos pescayres fay,
Quex aiten tant que de la mar peix tray;
33 Axi m' attey rich joy ab esperança.
- IV Co'l basalis, qui vesen sa semblança
Pres del miral, mors, si eys remiran,
Axi muyr yeu, madona [e]sguardan,
37 Pe'l desirer qu' ieu ay de s' amistança,
Qu' es co'l solelh que d' ivern e d' estat
Qui [e]sguardan son ray tolh claradat.
Axi la'm tolh ma don' ab son clar vis
41 Ab la sieu faç blanca com flor de lis,
Neta com l' aur, belha e d' esaut talh,
Enqueres mays, que nulhs bos ayps no'l falh:
44 Per qu' yeu atten s' amor tro merce'm valha.
- P. 83 V Axi com celh qu' a remes de batalha
Pus fort de ci, don ve a vencimen,
Aytal fau yeu; pero mes armes ren
48 A la plasen per ço que de mi'l calha
Aver merce, com Dieu[s] l' ach al layro,
Que Peradis li dech quant quis perdo;
Axi la'y quer com sobratz e venssutz;
52 Mays fin' amor[s] qu' esperança me dutz
Vol qu' yeu faça com fan li lavrador
Que lavron tant tro quez han fruyt e flor.
55 Per qu' yeu labor tant tro que del fruyt haja.

Tornada.

- Mos Gays ap pelhs e capelh que relhutz
57 D' una beutat fina que joy m'adutz,
Qui es complitz tot de fina valor.
Per qu'ay plaser cant retrasch sa lausor,
60 Car honor[s] m'es qu' yeu sa beutat retraya.

Variantes

- I. 1 *cell* E—2 *breument* E—3 E *intra'n* . . . *pux tart* E—4 *sens* . . . *perill* E—5 *Aytal* E—8 *pux aver* E—9 *amors* E (nous adoptons cette leçon: *H^a donne* la leçon corrompue *nom*)—10 *qui es flor* E—11 *breument* E
- II. 12 *signies que . . . ne* E—13 *que es . . . venguts* E—14 *pux . . . apercebuts* E—15 *que mort* E (M. Anglade a modifié en *qu'en mort*)—16 *Aytant pauch oblit eu xant* E—17 (nous substituons en partie la leçon de E à celle de *H^a*; *Ne me dompna en son pretz ne valors*) *dona* E *prets* E—18 *Mas ayso c. la lausa* E (M. Anglade a transformé *ayso* en *ayssi*)—19 *ques quab conduit* E—20 *Eu* E—21 *quab tant pauca de viandam* E (*que'b* pour *qu'ab* est une graphie nouvelle adoptée par le copiste: cf. au deuxième poème les vers 13 et 45)—22 *peix* E, *amor* *EH^a*.
- III. 25 *sgart* E, *sguard* *H^a* (*esgart*, Anglade) *garir* E—26 *confon* E (M. Anglade a substitué *pejura* à *figura* fourni par les deux manuscrits. La correction n'était pas nécessaire: M. Anglade lui-même, dans un autre poème de *H^a* qu'il publie (p. 223) laisse subsister *pigor* pour *pejor*: *me veyats pigor que taffur* (v. 24)—27 *Mas contrafau* E—28 *pur*] *pus* E (*Pur* = *purç* serait un italianisme) *no part* E—29 *eu* E—30 *can sai . . . jensor* E—31 *o . . . pescaires* E—32 *ques aten tan tro que del mar* E—33 *Ayssi aten* E
- IV. 34 *basalis que vesen sa semblança* E *qui va sensa semblança* *H^a*—35 *si ex* E—36 *eu* E *sgardan* E *sguardan* *H^a*—37 *De desirer que* E—38 *Si col solel* E *solhel* *H^a*—39 *sgarda* E *sguardan* *H^a* *toll la clardat* E—40 *Ayssi lam toll* E *lem* *H^a*—41 *Ab sa cara blanqua* E *lirs* *H^a*—42 *bella e d'asaut tall* E—43 *Enquiras may . . . nul ains noy fall* E—44 *Per que aten . . . valla* E
- V. 45 *arameix . . . batalla* E—46 *Pus fort*] *de se* E—47 *fay . . . rent* E—48 *jençor per tal que de mal calla* E—49 *deu* E, *dieu* *H^a*—50 *paradis* E *quant*] *sol* E—51 *quis . . . sobrats vencuts* E—52 *Mays*] *Mes E fin amor* *H^a* *sperança* E *m'aduts* E (Cette similitude de rime avec le vers 57 a fait penser à M. Anglade que la *tornada* était peut-être interpolée: "Peut-être avons-nous affaire à une interpolation (cf. la répétition de la rime et presque de l'idée aux vers 52 et 57)." La leçon de *H^a* *me duts*, qui fait disparaître la répétition de la rime, résout la difficulté; il ne faut plus songer à une interpolation)—53 *que* E *fa* *H^a*—54 *que an* E—55 *queu lavor a tan tro . . . aya* E
- TORNADA—56 *bells appels . . . capells* E—58 *garnits . . . baudor* E—59 *cant retrach* E—60 *honor* E *H^a*, *queu sas beutats retray* E (correction Anglade: *retraya*).

Traduction

- I De même que celui qui s'abandonne complètement
Pour bien vivre et pour rapidement mourir,
Et qui entre en un lieu d'où plus tôt il peut sortir
- 4 Sans grand péril (souci) d'y perdre la vie,
De même je fais moi, qui, pour vivre joyeux
Et pur et franc, patient et amoureux,
J'aime en tel lieu dont aucun réconfort

- 8 Je ne puis avoir ; même je suis près de la mort
Si donc Amour, bienveillance et merci
—Et ma Dame, qui est fleur de tous biens—
11 Ne me veulent donner rapidement salut et vie.
- II Ainsi que le cygne, qui ne chante ni ne crie
Jusqu'à ce qu'il est venu près de la mort,
(Car il est si habile à chanter
15 Que jusqu'à ce qu'il meurt il n'oublie pas son doux chant)
Aussi peu j'oublie, moi, les chants et les amours,
Ni ma Dame où sont Mérite et Valeur.
Puisque, tout ainsi que l'alouette d'été
19 Qui, au temps de ses amours, vit de peu d'aliments,
Ainsi je suis, moi, et d'été et d'hiver,
Tellement je me nourris de peu de chose ;
22 Et Amour me nourrit avec un fruit qui mûrit tard.
- III Comme la calandre, qui est d'une nature telle
Qu'elle ne regarde point le malade quand ce malade doit
mourir,
Avec son regard ma Dame ne veut pas me guérir ;
26 Au contraire, quand je la vois, elle me tue et fait empirer mon
mal.
Mais j'imité la roue du moulin,
Qui, tout en tournant, ne sort pas de sa place.
Et je renonce aussi peu à aimer d'amour parfait.
30 Au contraire, je me reconforte, quand je sais que ma Dame
est la plus aimable.
Aussi fais-je comme fait le bon pêcheur
Qui patiente jusqu'à ce qu'il tire du poisson de la mer.
33 Ainsi, je me prépare une noble joie avec l'espérance.
- IV Comme le basilic, qui, voyant son image
Près du miroir, meurt en se regardant lui-même,
Ainsi je meurs moi en contemplant ma Dame
37 Par le désir que j'ai de son amour.
Car elle est comme le soleil qui l'hiver comme l'été,
Enlève la vue (clarté) à ceux qui regardent son rayon.
Ainsi ma Dame me l'enlève par son clair regard,
41 Par l'éclat de son visage blanc comme fleur de lys,
Fine comme l'or, belle et d'une allure élégante
Et même plus, puisque aucune bonne qualité ne lui manque !

44 C'est pour cela que j'attends son amour jusqu'à ce que merci
me vienne en aide.

- V Comme celui qui a repoussé du champ de bataille
Plus fort que soi, si bien qu'il arrive à vaincre,
Ainsi je fais moi; pourtant je rends mes armes
48 A [la plus] aimable pour qu'il lui faille de moi
Avoir merci, comme Dieu l'eut du larron
Lorsqu'il lui donna le Paradis quand il eut demandé pardon,
Ainsi lui demandé-je merci comme terrassé et vaincu.
52 Mais Amour parfait qui m'amène l'espérance
Veut que je fasse comme font les laboureurs
Qui labourent jusqu'à ce qu'ils ont fruit et fleur
55 Aussi je laboure jusqu'à ce que j'obtienne du fruit.

- VI Mon Gai a une auréole et une couronne qui reluisent
D'une beauté pure m'apportant une joie
Qui est toute accomplie en mérite parfait.
Aussi, ai-je du plaisir à peindre ses louanges,
60 Car ce m'est un honneur de retracer sa beauté.

Nota.—Je traduis la *tornada* autrement que M. Anglade, non seulement à cause des variantes que présentent les textes de E et de H^a; mais parce que la *tornada* du second poème montrera que le *senhal* est formé par le mot *Gays* seul, et qu'*appelhs* signifie *a pelhs* "a des cheveux, une auréole." Voici comment M. Anglade avait compris: "Mon *bel Appel et Chapel*, qui reluit d'une beauté parfaite qui m'apporte la joie, qui est ornée de parfaite gaité, j'ai plaisir à dire ses louanges, car ce m'est un honneur de retracer sa beauté."

Il est vrai que M. Anglade n'était point satisfait de sa traduction et qu'il écrivait en note: "Cet envoi est bien banal, et, sous la forme actuelle, incorrect: faut-il mettre un point d'exclamation après *Capells*? Peut-être avons-nous affaire à une interpolation (cf. la répétition de la rime et presque de l'idée aux vers 52 et 57)." Or, nous l'avons remarqué aux *variantes*, dans le texte de H^a cette répétition n'existe plus: rime du vers 52, *me dutz*; rime du vers 57, *m'adutz*. Et *capelh* n'a plus l's du cas sujet. L'incorrection signalée disparaît donc à son tour.

II.—LE DEUXIÈME POÈME¹

Ce deuxième poème suit immédiatement le premier dans le manuscrit H^a, et, comme il commence au haut d' une page (84 v°), il a subi la même altération: il est illisible au début, parce que la page a été détériorée par l'humidité. Le nom de *Peyres Cathala* est presque effacé, et, dans sa *Bibliografia*, M. Y. Massò Torrents

¹ Pour le texte constitué et un essai de traduction de ce poème cf. les pp. 14-17.

(p. 65) avait écrit prudemment à côté: *apenes llegible*. Le premier vers restait tronqué dans cette première indication:

Mon cors se mor lengen . . . non es

C'est à la seconde lecture que M. Massò a déchiffré les mots *mays mort*.

Le second vers n'était pas plus intelligible, puisque M. Massò a écrit, même après sa nouvelle lecture:

C si fos mort mort moren mage estort.

Le C du début est ensuite devenu E; mais on voit que la correction n'est pas suffisante: le copiste a respecté presque constamment la règle du cas sujet et de l'attribut. Il faut donc écrire les deux vers avec l'orthographe suivante:

*Mo[s] cors se mor leng[u]en, mays mort[s] non es;
[E], si fos mort[s], mort[s] moren m'ag[r'] estort.*

M. Massò, pour donner, dans sa *Bibliografia*, une indication sûre, reproduisit donc, en outre, le premier vers de la seconde strophe:

Tan duramen sa douç' amor me pres,

laissant, à mon avis, encore une faute au mot *amor* qu'il faut écrire *amor[s]* (cas sujet).

Enfin, tant le texte est encombré de telles difficultés que M. Massò, rebuté un instant dans son travail ingrat, n'avait pas compté exactement le nombre des vers. Il disait dans sa *Bibliografia*: "6 cobles de 8 versos." C'est "9 versos" qu'il fallait dire.

Heureusement, aux pages 85-95 le manuscrit a été, un peu plus qu'auparavant, épargné par l'humidité, si bien que le poème est lisible même au début de la cobla IV (p. 85) et de la *tornada* (p. 86).

Il résulte de cette brève comparaison, la seule que nous puissions faire, que nous ne saurions prétendre fournir un texte définitif. Et voici les remarques que nous devons soumettre au lecteur avant de transcrire une leçon unique qu'il ne nous est pas possible d'établir d'une manière satisfaisante.

Au vers 6 se trouve le mot *fau* pour *fay* ou *fas* (1^o pers. sing. du présent indic. du verbe *faire*). Il n'y a pas à le modifier; nous

avons trouvé dans le premier poème, *contrafauc* et *contrafau* (v. 27), *fau* (vv. 30 et 47). C'est la forme félibrienne moderne; mais elle date de loin; elle est employée régulièrement, même à la troisième personne, par Auzias March, dans les verbes en *-aire* comme *plaire* et *sostraire*:

Ja tots mos cants me *plau* metr' en oblit . . .

Si Deu del cors la mi arma *sostrau* . . .

Au même vers 6, en rime, se trouve le mot *estia*. Il est corrompu, puisqu'il rime avec *camisa* du vers 9, et devrait s'écrire *estisa*. Mais *estisa* est un vocable inconnu aux lexiques. Comme il s'agit, dans la phrase, d'un feu (*foch*) qui *consume* " maints purs amants aimés " (*Mants fis ayments amats*), on peut songer à *atisa* " attise," qui est parfaitement provençal. Mais je crois qu'il faut lire *estrisa* (= consume, fait dépérir, éteint). Ce mot n'est pas non plus signalé dans les vocabulaires et Raynouard ne lui a pas consacré de notice dans son *Lexique roman*. Le même oubli s'est produit pour *destrisa*, quoique Raynouard ait trouvé l'expression dans le passage suivant d'une tenson entre Guizo de Cabanes et N Esquileta :

N Esquileta, quar m'a mestier,
M'aven a cercar mant seignor.
E, sitot non sai, entre lor,
Cridar: " A foc! " per En Roger,
Ben eu conosc que prez *destrisa*
E fina valors abriza.

E, ses cridar, sai en cort, conoissen.
Ben dir dels pros e mal de l'avol gen.

Raynouard, *Choir* v, 176

" Seigneur Esquileta, comme j'en ai besoin,—Il m'arrive de chercher maint seigneur.—Et, si je ne sais point du tout, parmi eux—Crier: " Au feu! " pour le seigneur Roger,—Je discerne bien que le mérite *s'éteint*—Et que la parfaite valeur disparaît.—Or, sans crier (au feu!), je sais, dans une cour, en connaisseur—Dire du bien des preux et du mal des gens avilis."

On voit que le sens de *destrisa*, qui concerne ici le feu comme dans notre texte, est bien celui qui nous convient, et *estrisa* est évidemment le générateur de *destrisa*. Raynouard, sans accorder de notice à *destrisa*, a cependant traduit le mot (*Lexique roman*, II, p. 261).

Le mot *amen*, du vers 7, n'est pas une leçon claire. Si c'est le subjonctif du verbe *amar*, ce qui est possible, il se rapporte à *mants fis aymants amats*, et il faut comprendre: "Maints amants aimés parfaits [pourvu qu'ils] aiment Amour." Mais on peut interpréter plus simplement *am'en amor* "j'aime en amour," qui convient aussi bien et se prête également au rapprochement de mots que cherche le poète.

Au vers 10, on le sait, M. Massò avait lu d'abord *duramen*, qu'il a remplacé par *douçamen* à la seconde lecture. Et *douçamen* se prête, en effet, à la dérivation de mots que le poète recherche. Mais *duramen* s'accorderait très bien avec le sens du vers 11, où il est question d'un "regard (dur) qui épouvante."

La suppression de l'*e* initial dans *Esguard* et *Espaverdan* (v. 11) n'est pas une négligence, mais une habitude du copiste et même une règle de la langue catalane au XV^e siècle. Cf. dans le premier poème: v. 15 *sgart* E; 33 *sperança* E; 36, *sguardan* H^a, *sgarda* E. Cf. ci-après, v. 35 *stamen*; v. 36, *smenda*.

Mais *spaverdan* est probablement une leçon légèrement altérée qu'il faut remplacer par *espavordan*, un dérivé de *pavor* "peur."

Je ne parviens pas à comprendre la construction *tant fort mort* du vers 12. La rime exige *mort* sans *s*. Mais alors *mort* qualifie *cor* dont il faut le rapprocher, et la construction n'est plus claire. Le rapprochement de *cor* et de *mort* ferait lire *mon cor mort pres tant fort*, ce qui ne convient pas à la rime, puisque *fort* rimerait avec lui-même (v. 11). Si *mort* est un substantif, sujet de *pres*, le sens est clair "que la mort avait pris immédiatement mon cœur si fort . . ." Mais alors la grammaire exige *mort[s]* (cas sujet). Il faudrait encore écrire *mort[s]*, si l'on interprétait *tant* *fos morts* "comme s'il était mort". On comprendra donc que ma traduction reste hypothétique. Je me résigne à interpréter, malgré ma répugnance:

Que dese hac pres tant fort mon cor mort.

Fermatz et *liatz*, du vers 15, sont aussi des mots qu'il est difficile d'interpréter. Les lexiques ne les signalent pas comme substantifs; or, ils semblent bien être ici des compléments pluriels de *Fferman*, et je ne peux comprendre que "arrétant (tenant ferme) les prisonniers et les enchaînés".

Car, au vers 16, paraît être un mot rare, et signifier "chèrement" après le verbe *trasch*.

Deus, du vers 21, n'est pas sans exemple. Je le trouve dans un vers de Torcafol jusqu'ici mal compris, parce qu'on n'avait pas identifié Lo Capil "le Chapieu."

Et an vos claus lo cortil
Sil queus son deus Lo Capil.

"Et ils vous ont clos le courtil ceux qui vous dominent sur le Chapieu." *Lo Capil* (le Chapieu) était un château du Gévaudan qui dominait la ville de Mende, et c'est là que, vers 1187, *Torcafol* (*alias Bertran de Rocafolh*), Montlaur et les ennemis de l'évêque de Mende, tenaient en échec *Gavin d'Apchier*, qui défendait le clergé.

Le mot *deus* signifie donc "au-dessus, au-delà, jusqu'à . . ." et il devra passer dans les lexiques. C'est, d'ailleurs, probablement une forme de *daus*, contraction de *devas*, "vers, jusqu'à".

Il manque une syllabe au vers 25, et *cov[in]en*, qui se présente d'abord à l'esprit pour remplacer *coven*, ne convient guère puisqu'il signifie surtout "convention, accord, engagement" et non "assemblée". Il y a donc lieu de donner un qualificatif à *coven* et je propose *gay*, fourni, d'ailleurs, par la *tornada*.

Le mot *attendutz* a parfois le sens d' "espoirs", et le vers 28 devient assez clair avec ce sens.

Mais *fferms* et *fermats* du vers 29 ramènent une obscurité pareille à celle du vers 15. Le pronom *que* (faut-il lire *qui*?) dans l'expression *que·s vol* augmente encore la perplexité, et la phrase *Fferms ten fermats que·s vol* est pour moi la plus inintelligible du poème.

Le vers 32 a une syllabe de trop, et je propose de supprimer *cor* dans *ses cor fals cuts* où il ne signifie rien.

Per que'b amor (v. 45) est une graphie nouvelle pour *Per qu'ab amor*. Le copiste semble l'affectionner et paraît avoir écrit *que'b si* au vers 13 (cf. le vers 21 du premier poème).

Au vers 46 apparaît, à mon avis, une inversion extraordinaire. Le verbe *a* (présent de *aver*) semble être rejeté au début du vers :

A celh quez es ab los fis affinat

Il est vrai qu'on pourrait interpréter :

A celh quez es ab los fis a ffinatz

en donnant à *ffinatz* (= *finatz*) le sens de compagnons" ou "émules assemblés", puisque *finar* (*Lexique roman*, III, p. 29) a parfois le sens de réunir.

Plausen, du vers 49, serait un mot nouveau en langue d'oc, s'il n'était pas une transformation de *plasen* ou *plaisen*, comme plus haut (v. 6) *fau* est une forme de *fay*. Au reste le mot ne serait pas une expression étrange, puisqu'il dériverait directement de *placedere*, dont le supin est *placesum*. Il signifierait "qu'on doit applaudir", comme *plaisen* signifie "qui cause du plaisir."

Le "senhal" *Mos Gays* (*tornada*) est commun aux deux poèmes et semble caractériser les poésies de *Peyre Cathala*. M. Anglade a écrit (p. 219) : "Le *senhal* qui apparaît dans la *tornada*, quelle qu'en soit la forme exacte, ne se rencontre pas chez Peire Vidal, ni, à ce qu'il semble, chez aucun autre troubadour". On sait qu'il avait étendu ce *senhal* à *Mos bells Appels e Capells*, qu'il avait traduit, sans enthousiasme, par "Mon bel Appel et Chapel." Mais ici les mots *appelhs* et *capelhs* ne peuvent pas être des noms propres, puisqu'ils ont pour compléments déterminatifs *de gaug, d'onor . . .* etc. Il faut donc traduire : "Mon Gai a une auréole et une couronne de bonheur, d'honneur . . .". *Pelhs*, dans le sens de "chevelure" et, au figuré, d' "auréole," d' "éclat", est un mot courant. Le manuscrit donne *appelhs*, unissant le verbe *aver* (*a*) avec le nom, et redoublant la consonne initiale *p*, comme cela se produit souvent.

L'expression *on que sia*, du vers 55 est une répétition due à la distraction du copiste, puisqu'elle se trouve aussi en rime au vers précédent, mais je ne vois pas par quoi on pourrait la remplacer.

Au vers 56, *entiers* ne doit pas avoir l's du pluriel, puisqu'il rime avec *requier* et que, d'ailleurs, le mot *pretz* (mérite) est presque toujours singulier.

Et cette longue suite de remarques montre immédiatement que ma traduction sera, en grande partie, hypothétique. J'ai même, pour cette raison, longtemps hésité à publier le poème. Le style, artificiel et précieux avec ses rencontres de mots dérivés les uns des autres, me répugnait aussi, et il est impossible d'en conserver

les artifices et les figures en français. Les jeux de mots, dans toutes les langues, sont comme les proverbes, le plus souvent intraduisibles.

Mais une raison supérieure a fait disparaître tous mes scruples. Le poème signale en *Guillem Auger* (v. 53) un nouveau protecteur de la poésie provençale. Ce protecteur était inconnu jusqu'ici, ou plutôt, malgré son apparition dans un sirventès de Bertran del Paget, n'avait encore reçu aucune personnalité historique. Or, j'ai pu le suivre dans une carrière assez brillante et émouvante, grâce à une dizaine de documents du XIII^e siècle (1230-1257) qui confirment en tous points les éloges de Peyre Cathala et de Bertran del Paget. Dès lors, ma publication s'impose et forme une page inédite de l'histoire des troubadours dans la première moitié du XIII^e siècle, à l'époque féconde de Cardinal, de Sordel, de Montanhol et de Bertran d'Alamanon.

Texte de l'unique leçon de H^a: no. 50

Peyres Cathala

p. 84

- | | | |
|----|--|-------|
| I | Mo[s] cor[s] se mor lenguen, mays mort[s] non es. | a (10 |
| | E, si fos mort[s], mort[s] moren m'ag[r]' estort. | b (10 |
| | Per qu'es vida viven, vius m'aconort | b (10 |
| 4 | Con fins, con franchs, con leyals, con conques. | a (10 |
| | Tant que, per tan parten, non parti res | a (10 |
| | Con tot per tot ho fau del foch qu' <i>estrisa</i> | c (10 |
| | Mants fis aymants amats. Am'en amor. | d (10 |
| | Mas yeu, pus m'art, mays hi trop de douçor | d (10 |
| 9 | Per la gencer quez hanch portes camisa. | c (10 |
| II | Tant douçamen sa douç' amor me pres | |
| | Ab un [e]sguart [e]spavordan tant fort | |
| | Que dese hac mon cor pres tant fort mort | |
| 13 | Que'b si ses si l'ach liat e conques. | |
| | Ab un liam fa son fayt demanes, | |
| | Fferman fermatz e liatz a gran guisa | |
| | De fin' amor qu'eu trach car, ses dolor, | |
| | Que non sen res ayçi co'l jugador | |
| 18 | Que non senton calt ne fret, fam ne brisa. | |

- III Ab gay plaser, plasen plaser m'adutz
Amor[s] que m fay, amans soffrens, soffrir,
E, desirans, desirar deus desir
22 que'y ay del gay coven don m'es vengutz
Joys richs entiers cant me mandet salut
E'fin' amors que mi fech de sa tenda
On canta lay, ab tot son [gay] coven,
Dances e verç, xanço alegamen.
27 Per qu'yeu lo prey preyan breumen m'entenda.

p. 85

- IV Attendut ay attenden attendutz,
Fferms ten fermatz que's vol. Volven no'm vir,
Ne n'ay ges cor que m descor del cossir.
31 Axi suy fis afinats totz rendutz
De cor, de cors encoratz, ses (cor) fals cutz.
Per qu'yeu prey plus pretz que tresaur me renda,
E leyaltat en leyal cor valen.
Per qu'yeu em patz me pas mon [e]stamen,
36 Que no'm calha de tort fayt ses [e]smenda.

- V Ab los valents valer valor me platz;
Car ab valor val celh qui pot valer.
Per qu'en honor valor as dreyt d'aver.
40 Car axi's tany a cuy platz plasen[s] fa[y]tz.
Per que tenen me tench enamoratz,
Car ses amar amor[s] petit valria;
Qu'amors me fay far mant xant d'alegrer
E fay tornar homil[s] lo sobrenser,
45 Per que'b amor amar vulh ses bausia.

- VI A celh quez es ab los fis affinatz;
E[z] ab los autz aut se sab mantener,
E de folh vol vol en grat retenir;
49 Per qu'es ab ver son laus plausen lauzatz,
Ez ab guerra guerreyan es provatz.
Per que l'apelh flor de cavallaria.
Car soent fay fayts de bon cavaller,
N'enaur y lo sire Guillem Auger,
54 Que fa honor e valor on que sia.

Tornada

Mos Gays ap pelhs e capelhs, on que sia,
 De gaug, d'onor, d'amor, ab pretz entier[s].
 Per que'l sopley, e, sopleyan, requier,
 58 Ab gay coven d'amor, sa companya.

Essai de Traduction

- I Mon cœur se meurt insensiblement, mais n'est pas mort,
 Et, s'il fût mort, la mort en tuant m'aurait délivré.
 Parce qu'il conserve la vie, je me reconforte vivant,
 4 Comme [un homme] délicat, franc, loyal et soumis.
 Si bien que tout en m'en allant, je ne me suis point éloigné
 (C'est toujours ainsi que j'agis en tout) du feu qui consume
 Maints parfaits amants aimés. J'aime d'amour,
 Mais, plus je me brûle, plus j'éprouve de douceur
 9 A cause de la plus aimable qui jamais portât chemise.
- II Tant doucement son doux amour me prit,
 (Avec un regard m'épouvantant si fort)
 Qu'immédiatement elle eut conquis mon cœur comme s'il était
 mort.
 13 Si bien qu'avec elle et [pourtant] sans elle, elle l'avait lié et
 emprisonné.
 Elle accomplit soudain son exploit avec une chaîne,
 Tenant les prisonniers et les enchainés par les liens puissants
 D'Amour parfait, chaîne que je traîne chèrement, sans douleur;
 Car je ne sens rien [*de son poids*] ainsi que les joueurs,
 18 Qui ne sentent chaud ni froid, faim ni fatigue.
- III Avec gai plaisir, m'apporte un espoir charmant
 Amour, qui me fait souffrir en aimant et en gémissant,
 Et chérir, en espérant, jusqu'à l'espérance
 22 Que j'ai du doux accord dont m'est venue
 Joie riche entière quand ma Dame m'envoya salutations
 Et amitiés parfaites. Elle m'envoya cela de sa tente,
 Car elle chante là-bas, avec tout son joyeux couvent,
 Allègrement, des danses, des vers et des chansons.
 27 Aussi je la prie, suppliant que bientôt elle m'écoute.

- IV J'ai attendu en entrevoyant tous espoirs.
Tienne qui veut les prisonniers (?), Je ne change point d'intention,
Et n'ai pas le cœur de me délivrer de ma souffrance,
31 Je suis ainsi parfait, épuré, complètement soumis.
De cœur, de corps, de volonté, sans intentions traîtresses.
C'est pour cela que je prise davantage le mérite, afin qu'il me rende mon trésor,
Et la loyauté dans un cœur valeureux et soumis.
Aussi je supporte en paix ma prison,
36 Et je ne me soucie point d'un affront reçu sans rançon,
V Il me plaît d'exalter le mérite avec les gens de valeur,
Car, au contact du mérite se distingue celui qui peut en acquérir,
Puisque avec l'honneur tu as droit d'avoir du mérite.
37 Et cela convient à qui plaît toute action noble.
Aussi, patiemment, je persiste à rester amoureux,
—Car, sans aimer, l'Amour vaudrait peu de chose—
Et Amour me fait composer maint chant d'allégresse,
Et fait redevenir modeste le conquérant.
45 Aussi, avec amour, je veux aimer sans tromperie.
- VI Celui qui demeure avec les gens parfaits a des émules,
Et se sait maintenir hautement parmi les personnes de haut mérite,
Ainsi que s'abstenir de son gré de toute folle décision.
49 Aussi, sa bonne renommée est-elle proclamée et applaudie par la vérité
Et prouvée par la guerre, parce qu'il a combattu.
C'est pour cela que je l'appelle "Fleur de chevalerie!"
Et, comme souvent il accomplit des exploits de bon chevalier,
J'exalte ici le Sire Guillem Auger
54 Qui acquiert de l'honneur et du mérite, quelque part qu'il soit.
- VII Mon Gay, quelque part qu'il soit, a une auréole et une couronne
[Tressées] de triomphe, d'honneur, d'amour et de mérite entier.
Aussi je le supplie; et, en suppliant, je requiers,
58 Avec un parfait accord d'amour, sa compagnie.

C. FABRE

LE PUY-EN-VELAY

(A suivre)

SOME EARLY TREATISES ON FALCONRY

WORKS on falconry occupy a not inconsiderable place in the literature of the later Middle Ages, whether in Latin or in the various vernaculars. Interesting as a phase of the court life and manners of the period, these are also significant in the history of mediaeval science, not only as illustrating the current medical notions, but also as marking the growth of knowledge based upon detailed personal observation. For the most part these treatises consist of collections of remedies for diseases, in which traditional lore, superstition, and practical experience are curiously mingled. Many of them describe with some fulness various species of birds of prey and their uses, and in the later period the actual practice of falconry receives minute attention. There is much translation and much borrowing back and forth, and the interrelations of the several works constitute an exceedingly intricate subject. As no survey of this literature has been attempted since the study of Werth in 1888,¹ it may not be out of place to call attention to certain unknown or little known manuals, chiefly of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which have come to my notice in the course of a study of the most famous of such treatises, the *De arte venandi cum avibus* of the Emperor Frederick II.²

I.—ADELARD OF BATH

The earliest treatise on hawking so far identified in western Europe was written in England in the time of Henry I. Its author, Adelard of Bath, was not only attached in some fashion to the English court, but had studied in France, southern Italy, and the Mo-

¹ H. Werth, "Altfranzösische Jagdlehrbücher, nebst Handschriftenbibliographie der abendländischen Jagdlitteratur überhaupt," in *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XII, pp. 146-191, 381-415; XIII, pp. 1-34 (1888-89). Cf. Biedermann's supplementary notes, *ib.*, XXI, pp. 529-540; and J. E. Harting, *Bibliotheca Accipitraria* (London, 1891).

² See my article on the *De arte* in the *English Historical Review*, July, 1921 (XXXVI, pp. 334-355). For information concerning manuscripts at the Vatican I am specially indebted to Monsignore A. Pelzer.

hammedan East, and was one of the pioneers in introducing Arabic learning into western Europe.³ Yet his little work on falconry ignores eastern experience and concerns itself chiefly with old English recipes for the diseases of hawks. Moreover, it refers specifically to earlier writings on the subject, the *libri Haroldi regis*, probably books once in the possession of the last Anglo-Saxon king.⁴ The beginning of Adelard's treatise indicates that it was an interlude in the more serious studies represented by the author's *Questiones naturales*, also in the form of a dialogue with his nephew. The nephew begins:⁵

Quoniam in causis disserendis rerum animus noster admodum fatigatus⁶ est, ad eiusdem relevationem id magis delectabile quam grave interponendum est. Intellectus enim similiter ut arcus si nunquam cessas tendere mollis erit. Quare in eo iudicio tale ad quod et iocundum et utile sit eligendum est. Id autem recte fieri spero si de accipitrum natura et usu⁷ elegantius aperias, precipue cum et nos Angli sumus genere et eorum inde scientia pre ceteris gentibus probata sit et ea deinde scientie qualitas constat⁸ ut⁹ quanto pluribus dividitur tanto magis efflorescet. *Adel[ardus]*. Sit sane ne aut inscientia aut invidia¹⁰ arguamus. Ea igitur disseremus que et modernorum magistrorum usu didicimus et non minus que Haroldi¹¹ regis libris reperimus scripta, ut quicumque his intentus disputatione[m] habeat si negotium exercuit paratus¹² esse possit. Tuum itaque sit inquirere, meum explicare.

It ends:

Hec habui que de cura accipitrum dicerem. Ceterum si tibi vel alicui alii suam addere sententi[am] placet, non invideo.

Adelard's little work does not seem to have been widely used.

³ For Adelard's biography, see my articles in the *English Historical Review*, XXVI, pp. 491-498 (1911), XXVIII, pp. 515 f. (1913); and Lynn Thorndike, *History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1922), ch. 36.

⁴ See my note on "King Harold's Books" in the *English Historical Review*, April, 1922.

⁵ Vienna, MS. 2504, f. 49 (ca. 1200).

⁶ MS. *fatigatus*.

⁷ Corrected from *usque ad*.

⁸ MS. *et stat*.

⁹ MS. *ett* (?).

¹⁰ MS. *individua*.

¹¹ The scribe may have tried to correct the *a* into an *o* or vice versa.

¹² MS. *paritus*.

The only complete copy I have found is in MS. 2504 of the Nationalbibliothek at Vienna (ff. 49-51). The greater part is incorporated into a compilation of the thirteenth century to which we shall come below (Clare College, Cambridge, MS. 15, ff. 185-187). The earlier portion at least is used by the author of an Anglo-Norman poem in the British Museum (Harleian MS. 978).¹³

No other treatise connected with the Anglo-Norman court is known to have survived. Daude de Pradas, writing his *Romans dels ausels cassadors* early in the thirteenth century,¹⁴ cites:

En un libre del rei Enric
d'Anclaterra lo pros el ric,
que amet plus ausels e cas
que non fes anc nuill crestias,
trobei d'azautz esperimens
on no coue far argumens.¹⁵

Whether the reference is to Henry I or Henry II it is impossible to say, though the latter is more likely. This would be a particularly interesting treatise to recover.

II.—WILLIAM THE FALCONER

Like the Norman kings of England, the Norman rulers of Sicily were mighty hunters and hawkers, and the first who bore the royal title, Roger II (1139-54), is said to have had a falconer, William, whose precepts are frequently cited. Thus Albertus Magnus, in the chapters of his *De animalibus* devoted to falcons,¹⁶ cites in three passages William the falconer, in one instance specifically as

¹³ Compare the extract given by Paul Meyer in *Romania*, XV, 278 f., with the passage from Adelard printed below, note 36.

¹⁴ The biographical data on Daude given in the standard works are very meagre. He dedicates his poem on the cardinal virtues to Stephen, bishop of Le Puy (1220-31); and Torraca has found him attesting as canon of Rodez in 1214-18: *Studi su la lirica italiana del duecento* (Bologna, 1902), pp. 244 f.

¹⁵ Ed. Monaci (in *Studi romanzi*, V, pp. 65-192), lines 1930-35; ed. Sachs (Brandenburg, 1865), lines 1905-10. Werth (XII, pp. 154 f., 166-171) thinks he can identify other passages in Daude derived from the *libre del rei Enric*. The incantations of lines 1937 ff. reappear in Albertus Magnus, c. 19.

¹⁶ Bk. XXIII, 40. Ed. Stadler (Münster, 1916-20), pp. 1453-93; *Opera* (Paris, 1891), XII, pp. 451-487. These chapters often appear in the manuscripts as a separate work on falconry, e.g., Bodleian, MS. Rawlinson D. 483, ff. 1-47v.

King Roger's falconer, followed as an authority by Frederick II.¹⁷

Hunc falconem [*i.e.* nigrum] Federicus imperator sequens dicta Guilelmi, regis Rogerii falconarii, dixit primum visum esse in montanis quarti climatis quae Gelboe vocantur, et deinde iuvenes expulsos a parentibus venisse in Salaminae Asiae montana, et iterum expulsos nepotes primorum devenisse ad Siciliae montana et sic derivata esse per Ytaliā.

These citations can be identified in a brief treatise which in several manuscripts¹⁸ follows the Latin text of the so-called "Dancus."¹⁹ The last chapter of "Dancus" runs:

Iste magister non fuit mendax sed verax, iste medicine sunt bone et perfecte et multum probate. Guilielmus falconerius qui fuit nutritus in curia regis Rogèrii qui postea multum moratus fuit cum filio suo et habuit quendam magistrum qui vocatus fuit Martinus qui fuit sapiens et doctus in arte falconum, et iste discipulus suus Guilielmus scivit omnia que ipse scivit et tanto plus quod ipse composuit libellum unum de arte ista cuius principium tale est. Nolite dubitare sed firmiter sciatis quod nullus talis magister vivit modo in mundo.

Explicit liber Galacianus rex de avibus.

[*Chapter headings, then*] Incipit tractatus Guilelmi de avibus et eorum medicamine, et primo capitulo incipit de dolore capitis qui dicitur furtinum [*or* siurtinum].

Quando vides quod habet furtinum accipe mumiam et da ei comedere cum carne porcina et alio die da ei carnem gatti et tene eum donec liberabitur. . . .

Seventeen chapters contain brief remedies of this sort; the remaining, chapters 18–24, treat briefly of the training and species of falcons. In the midst of chapter 20 we read:

Nullus magister scit ita de naturis falconum unde sunt et unde

¹⁷ C. 10, ed. Stadler, p. 1465; not in the known text of Frederick's *De arte*. Cf. c. 20 below.

¹⁸ I have used in the Vatican MSS. Vat. lat. 5366, ff. 40v–44v (saec. XIII); Ott. lat. 1811, ff. 37–40 (saec. XIV); Reg. lat. 1227, ff. 51–56 (saec. XV); Reg. lat. 1446, ff. 74–76 (saec. XIV); and in the Bibliothèque Nationale, MS. 7020, ff. 45v–49 (saec. XV). The text of the extracts printed follows MS. Vat. lat. 5366, with some obvious corrections from the others. See also the French version of Dancus, anterior to 1284, ed. Martin-Daivault (Paris, 1883), pp. 19–29, and its notes; and the Italian version in *Il Propugnatore*, II, part 2, pp. 221 ff. (1869). An Italian version of William, now in MS. Ashburnham 1249 of the Laurentian, is cited by G. Mazzatinti, *La biblioteca dei Re d'Aragona* (Rocca S. Casciano, 1897), p. 172.

¹⁹ On which see Werth, XII, pp. 148–160.

exierunt sicut iste magister Guillelmus filius Malgerii Neapolitani scivit et ideo tractat de naturis falconum quia plus scivit quam aliquis homo. Falcones qui prius apparuerunt in mundo ipse bene agnovit. Falcones nigri prius apparuerunt. Venerunt a Babilonia in Montem Gebeel et deinde venerunt in Sclavoniam et deinde venerunt ad Palunudum²⁰ quod est in pertinentiis Policastri.

Magister Guillelmus is again quoted in chapter 22:

Propter carnem non perdet voluntatem venandi set propter sanguinem tantum, et hoc probavit magister Guillelmus qui plus modo fecit quam aliquis qui vivat.

The treatise ends with the chapter on *ysmerli* cited by Albertus Magnus:²¹

Sed tamen si bonus est magister potest eos facere capere grues tali dieta et tali custodia ut alii falcones, et si vult capere grues oportet habere duodecim ysmerlos.

Apparently we have not William's manual in its original form, but extracts from it, which, however, have something of the brevity to be expected from a practical falconer of the early period. The connection with Sicily is clear, not only in the statements respecting the king and the Neapolitan falconer Malgerio, but, more certainly, in the reference to the region of Policastro. If the treatise in its original form should be discovered, we should probably have one of the important sources for later writers.

III.—THE COURT OF FREDERICK II AND HIS SONS

In the thirteenth century the chief centre of literary activity on subjects of falconry was the court of the Emperor Frederick II. A tireless sportsman from his youth, the emperor called in expert falconers from many lands and devoted long years to the observation of birds and the practice of the art. He had the treatise of Moamyn, and probably that of Yatrib, translated from the Arabic under his personal supervision, and appears in general to have systematically collected the authorities on the subject. After thirty years of preparation he dedicated to his son Manfred the *De arte venandi cum*

²⁰ Lat. 7020 has *Palumbidum*; Reg. lat. 1446 interlines in a later hand *Paludinum*. The place is evidently Monte Palladino on the gulf of Policastro.

²¹ Ed. Stadler, p. 1468.

aribus, which is the most noteworthy mediaeval work on the subject, noteworthy for its independent and scientific spirit even more than for the eminence of its author. In the form known to us the *De arte* consists of a systematic account of birds in general and falcons in particular, followed by a detailed examination of lures and the methods of hunting with the several types of falcons. There is reason for thinking that the emperor also discussed hawks and the diseases of falcons, but this part of the work has not been recovered.²² Besides half a dozen manuscripts of the Latin original, in a six-book edition and a two-book recension by Manfred, we have two different French versions made before the end of the thirteenth century.²³

Frederick's favorite son Manfred inherited in large measure the intellectual interests of his father. We learn from the preface that Frederick's *De arte* was finally put into form at Manfred's request, and it was he who later searched out the notes and loose sheets of the author which are incorporated in his recension.²⁴

Another son, Enzo, well known in the literary circle of the *Magna Curia*, was likewise a patron of writers on falconry. His "servenz et hom de lige," Daniel of Cremona, dedicates to him French versions of Moamyn and Yatrib which afford interesting evidence of the prevalence of French in North Italy;²⁵ while an

²² See the chapters on diseases in Albertus Magnus "secundum falconarium Federici imperatoris" (c. 19) and "secundum experta Federici" (c. 20). The greater part of chapter 19 appears in a treatise in the Vatican (MS. Reg. lat. 1446, ff. 76-77) headed "Gerardus falconarius," possibly one of the emperor's falconers.

²³ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI, pp. 334-355. Some reference to the lost portions of Frederick's work may be contained in a document in which Guilelmus Bottatus of Milan offers to Charles of Anjou two large illustrated volumes, "imperatorie maiestatis effigie decoratus," dealing with hawks and falcons and the cure of their diseases. Papon, *Histoire de Provence*, II, preuves, p. lxxxv (Paris, 1778).

²⁴ *English Historical Review*, XXXVI, pp. 337 f.; and my article on "Science at the Court of Frederick II," to appear in *American Historical Review* in 1922. The treatise of Adam des Esgles, "falconer of the prince of Tarento," dates doubtless not from Manfred's time but from one of the later bearers of this title. It is found in a manuscript of the fifteenth century at Le Mans, MS. 79, ff. 116v-128v, beginning:

"Aultres medicines pour faulcons fait par Adam des Esgles chevalier faulconnier du prince de Tarente, et premierement faulconnerie veult que soyes doulx, courtoys, et debonnaire. Se ung faulcon aver qui soit blanc et blond et de gros plumage . . ."

²⁵ Ciampoli, *I codici francesi della R. Biblioteca di S. Marco* (Venice, 1897),

anonymous young writer composed for him, as king of Torres and Gallura, a brief set of excerpts on the species of falcons and their diseases, which is preserved in Clare College, Cambridge (MS. 15, ff. 185-187). It begins:

Incipit practica avium. Ex primis legum cunabilis impericie mee solacium querens scemam virorum honestatisque sigillum mente ne facto viri deinceps videar contrarius set honeste pretendi potius condescendens, igitur ut principi nostro excellentissimo, .E. Turrensi principi, qui causa aucupantium delectat precipue ceterisque eiusdem generis²⁶ satisfactioni[bus], utiliora ex libris antiquorum collecta in huius libelli compendium de natura avium breviter enodavi, opus hoc meum esse non affirmans nisi per compilationem. Eius seriem in .v. particulas divisi quarum prima continetur qualiter Aquila et Simachus et Theodosion Tholomeo imperatori Egipti scripserunt et quid de avibus senserunt et eorum accentibus, variis enim subiacent periculis ut corpus humanum et variis succurritur medicinis. Et nota quod unus pro omnibus rationari intelligitur. Secunda continet quid²⁷ Alexander grecus medicus Cosme de vario casu ancipitrum et eorum medela²⁸ scripsit. Tercia quid Girosius²⁹ hispanus Theodosio imperatori. Quarta quid Alardus anglicus nepoti suo interroganti responderit. Quinta quid M. G. de Monte P. expertus sit, et sic liber terminatur.

The nature of the work is indicated by this preface: the species of hawks and falcons, and their diseases. Of our author's sources, the letters of Ptolemy and Theodosius are well known,³⁰ and Adalard's treatise has just been described. The supposed letter of the Greek physician Alexander I have not identified.³¹ Master G. of Montpellier may be Gilbert the Englishman, chancellor of Montpellier, well known as a medical writer about 1250;³² his contribution deals entirely with diseases.

pp. 112-114; cf. Paul Meyer, in *Atti of the Roman Congress of History*, IV, p. 78 (1904).

²⁶ MS. *genera*.

²⁷ MS. *grecus*.

²⁸ MS. *ex medelo*.

²⁹ As later. MS. here *Gñosius*.

³⁰ Werth, XII, pp. 160-165.

³¹ Alexander is cited by Daude de Pradas, line 2319; cf. Werth, XII, p. 165.

³² *Histoire Littéraire*, XXI, pp. 393-403; cf. Duhem, *Le système du monde* (Paris, 1915), III, p. 291.

IV.—ARCHIBERNARDUS

Among the Rossi manuscripts recently returned from Vienna to Rome and now on deposit in the Vatican⁸³ there is found a codex of the thirteenth century containing a Latin poem of 324 hexameter lines entitled *Liber falconum*.⁸⁴ The author, who calls himself Archibernardus, is evidently an Italian, using such expressions as *pulzinus*, *buzza*, *pollastra*, and twice having the line,

Ars mea sanari docet hunc Italis medicari.

The subject matter is of the usual kind, the species, food, and diseases of falcons:

A nostra prohemaria ductrix sit virgo Maria
Archibernardi per carmen disce mederi
Leso falconi nec dedignere doceri
Miles mille valens si vis urbanus haberi.
.
.
.
Sit hic locus mete musarum avete cetus
Egregios iuvenes equites peditesque docetis
Explicit liber falconum.

V.—EGIDIO DI AQUINO

Friar Egidius de Aquino is given as the author of a brief treatise preserved in a manuscript of the fifteenth century in Corpus Christi College, Oxford (MS. 287, ff. 74v–78v). It covers the training, diseases, and species of birds of prey, beginning with falcons and ending with hawks, and is particularly full in distinguishing the varieties used in Italy. Thus the species of hawks include those of Ventimiglia, Slavonia, Calabria (*calavresi*), Istria, Sardinia, Germany, and the Alps (*alpisiani*);⁸⁵ while among *astures* we find those of Tuscany, Lombardy, the March, Apulia, Germany, and Sicily: (f. 74v)

Incipit liber avium viventium de rapina et [de] morbis et curis et generationibus eorum.

⁸³ On this collection see Bethmann, in Pertz's *Archiv*, XII, pp. 409–415.

⁸⁴ MS. VII. 58, ff. 85–87v.

⁸⁵ The manual of Egidio is followed quite closely in the anonymous Italian treatise published by A. Mortara, *Scritture antiche toscane di falconeria* (Prato, 1851), pp. 1–21. Chapter 6 of this appears as a fragment in MS. Rawlinson D. 483, ff. 47v–48v, following the Latin text of Albertus Magnus.

Quoniam vidimus et experimento cognovimus morbos doctrinas naturas et generationes avium et plures de nobilioribus, scilicet viventibus de rapina et eorum generationibus documentis infirmitatibus curis et naturis, omnibus aliis generationibus pretermissis ad presens tractatulum intendimus inchoare. . . .

(f. 78v)

Quoniam inhonestum est retinere ancipitrem in manu cum pennis fractis sive tortis.

Explicit liber de naturis morbis et generationibus omnium avium viventium de rapina. Compositus est a fratre Egidio de Aquino.

Laus tibi sit, Christe, quoniam liber explicit iste.

Et facto fine pia laudetur virgo Maria.

Amen.

This is followed in the manuscript (ff. 78v-84) by an anonymous *Liber de ancipitribus et falconibus et curis eorum*, beginning:

Nimis sumit precipue volucres sparvarius et pre cunctis passeris . . .

It makes use of personal experience, but at the end incorporates a condensed version of William the falconer.

VI.—PETRUS FALCONERIUS

Of uncertain date is the brief Italian tract of a certain Peter on the care of falcons, preserved in a manuscript of the fifteenth century in the Vatican (MS. Urb. lat. 1014, ff. 53v-56), in the midst of a copy of Moamyn:

(f. 53v)

Petrus falconerius aliter dictus Petrus de la stōr composuit ista. Qui fuit et est si vivit de melioribus falconeriis totius mundi et magister magistrorum imprimis.

Chi vol fare uno falcone ramage saur sitost come preso e vol mangiare su lopugno hoïuli [*sic*] de dar mangiare .viii. grani gorge entre lagente apresso si de hom quattro giorni carne lassativa lavata e apresso ledevo lomo dar uno membro de gallina. . . .

(f. 56)

. . . e poi lo mecti su la pertica e lassalo stare che non de multo gettara lapiumata e quello sella se non la gettura quello pure. Allo sparvieri smeriglio daneli promicta.

VII.—ANONYMOUS WORKS

The care and cure of falcons is the subject of an anonymous treatise of the late thirteenth century preserved in a manuscript in the library of the University of Cambridge. At the beginning there is a suggestion of the earlier portion of Adelard of Bath,⁸⁶ while the remedies often coincide with those of the falconer of Frederick II quoted by Albertus Magnus. The beginning of the treatise has been printed by Paul Meyer;⁸⁷ it ends:

Aneti et piperis grana sex insimul tere et cum pullina carne sibi tribue.

Two French treatises, likewise anterior to 1300, have been noted by Paul Meyer in the same manuscript.⁸⁸

Another French treatise of the same period is noted by Meyer in a manuscript at Lyons; as a different French version is found at Cheltenham, it is likely that both go back to a Latin original.⁸⁹

CHARLES H. HASKINS

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

⁸⁶ Adelard has: "Inde audire desidero quales esse velis qui huic studio convenient. Sobrios, patientes, castos, bene hanhelantes, necessitatibus expeditos. Quare? Ebrietas enim oblivionis mater est. Ira lesiones generat. Meretricum frequentatio tineosos ex tactu accipitris facit." MS. Vienna 2504, f. 49; MS. Clare 15, f. 186.

⁸⁷ MS. Ff. 6. 19, ff. 69v.-73; *Romania*, XV, p. 279.

⁸⁸ *Ib.*, pp. 279-281.

⁸⁹ *Romania*, XIII, p. 506; *Bulletin de la Société des anciens textes français*, XI, pp. 75-77 (1885). Not in Werth.

RENÉE, A SIXTEENTH CENTURY NUN

THE late war taught us among other things that woman, whether as ministering angel or helpful coadjutor, must have method, determination, training, commingled with her tenderness, if she is to be effective in either rôle. Even Florence Nightingale, we now learn—though it was as the “lady of the lamp” that she became an ideal figure in the soldiers’ eyes—brought about, by practical resourcefulness, mastery of her subject, methodical work and political sense, the reforms which actually mitigated their lot and set the standard for the future. To struggle with cabinet ministers and committees, to secure the passage of acts of parliament, calls for gifts and qualities the very opposite of those that used to be considered exquisitely feminine.

Investigation reveals that the same is true of her predecessors, the few—the very few—women who by force of character and unceasing effort changed the course of events. As we look down “the dark backward and abysm of time” to seek out these few solitary figures we may appropriately recall the dramatic tradition that the protagonist of a tragedy must be a king or other powerful person whose energies are untrammelled, for they alone are free to enter upon a telling struggle with fate; for the women who have achieved in the past are the women whom fortune has placed at an advantage even greater than that possessed by Florence Nightingale: Lady Mary Wortley Montague (an ambassador’s wife), the Empress Catherine of Russia, Queen Elizabeth, Queen Marguerite of Navarre;—the only exception seeming to lie with nuns, whose situation as they arrived at the headship of a religious house gave them scope and opportunity. The Mère Angélique, Catherine of Sienna—who by the way and not Mme. Rosika Schwimmer was really the first woman ambassador—Saint Theresa of Spain are obvious examples. These nuns were religious, devout and even mystical no doubt, but none the less they were active, practical, determined executives. And such also was the subject of this sketch, the Abbess Renée de Bourbon.

Between Saumur and Loudun in France lies a vast and beautiful group of buildings dating from different periods, some as early as the twelfth century, the most striking from the sixteenth, some from later periods. They form with their towers, spires, walls, and buildings large and small, a harmoniously arranged village, or rather small town. This was the ancient great convent of Fontevrault—the Royal Convent it was called. Now it is a barracks or official asylum of some sort, and its former inhabitants, the religious, live in exile in Spain.

The very name of Fontevrault is romantic, derived as it is from that of an outlaw robber who in the eleventh century defied the world in the forest where it now stands. And romance clung always to it. Whenever the light of recorded history falls upon it, it is to reveal some brilliant or bizarre incident or personality.

The strange history of the convent began with its foundation at the end of the eleventh century when Robert d'Arbrissel broke in on the forest solitude of the robber Evraud and converted him to piety. Robert was a brilliant university professor, a dignified cleric, a preacher extraordinarily eloquent, a man of great personal charm. It is a tribute to his powers of magnetism that when he went to live and pray in solitude near the robber Evraud's fountain, he was followed by about three thousand people of both sexes. Solitude and prayer were not compatible with this company, but its advent gave the anchorite a different pious opportunity. He preached the crusade to them and thus got rid of a large number. Those who did not go crusading, and those who kept freshly flocking in, he formed into religious communities of men and women to whom he ministered, coming from his own solitude for the purpose. The thing became the rage; the rich and great flocked into the former wilderness to serve God with prayer and silent physical toil, for the rule of silence (Robert must have found it a solace!) was enjoined upon them from the first.

Soon the forest began to blossom, and gifts poured in, buildings were erected, land dedicated, and then a great original idea struck Robert d'Arbrissel, one that set Fontevrault apart from every other religious community. It was that the Head of the Order should always be a woman—that the monks must obey her alone—in fact

part of their rule provided that their father confessor must give no penance which would in the least interfere with obedience to the Mother Superior. Was Robert expressing his sense of womanly worth or was he seeking out a discipline for men of a character singularly exasperating to their amour propre? However that may be, the striking fact remains that, in the words of the Convent's own historian: "The submission of men to a woman is the seal, the spirit, the mark and the essential distinction of the Order of Fontevrault."

From the very first the convent was popular with the great. Its first prioress was a ruling noble; one of its subsidiary priories—and it began early to found subsidiary establishments—was presided over by a queen; its later Superiors were almost all royalties, who not only enhanced its prestige but added to its treasury ornaments, tapestries and money. Royal Mothers Superior were not the sole claim of the convent to distinction. It was chosen also as a royal burial-place; for the Plantagenet Kings were there interred and their tombs and statues in the *Cimetière des Rois*, as it was called, became one of the glories of the place. Its reputation rested, moreover, no less upon religious than upon earthly grandeur. It was—so legend told—a Fontevrault nun whose place, when she ran away from the convent, was miraculously taken by the Virgin Mary during her fifteen erring years. As the Fontevrault nuns tell the story: "The angels, seeing Mary leaving Heaven, cried out: 'Mary so loves the Fontevrists that she has descended among them to live their life and wear their habit!'" It was a Fontevrault nun, again, who, loved at sight by an English prince, asked his messenger what poor charm of hers could have moved him. Hearing that it was her eyes that had fired him, she tore them out and sent them to him on a dish. The prince, repenting of his rash wishes, built a priory where this martyr of chastity was for the rest of her life tended at his expense.

Distinguished by such glories, religious and secular, the fame of Fontevrault spread far and wide. Dependent abbeys sprang up, and through their intercourse with Flanders and England and Spain lifted the convent quite above the conditions of ordinary monastic life. There were some thirty-four of these dependences

when, in 1491, Renée de Bourbon became its Mother Superior, succeeding Anne, sister of the French King Louis XII, who left all her treasure to the Abbey. Renée was herself of royal blood. The daughter of Jean de Bourbon, Count of Valois, she was, by the marriages of her seven brothers and sisters, connected with all the great families of France. From the family of one brother indeed issued the great Henri IV of France.

In her own person Renée was a strange and attaching figure. When she was a child of ten a serious illness, some mysterious "catarrh," permanently stunted her growth. But this did not—the Convent records assure us—mar the elegance and beauty of her aspect nor the sweet agreeable majesty which was naturally hers. Delicate and of a sickly habit, she was active and energetic and, as the sequel will show, of a most determined temper. Her soul, we are told, seemed almost free of the body, so spiritual was she, so ethereal. Her retentive memory, her powerful mind, her speech vivacious yet so restrained, distinguished her among other nuns. Moreover, she spoke "nothing lightly nor inadvisedly, nothing without modesty, as she did nothing ill-considered, nothing hasty, nothing without prudence."

We may fancy the young abbess of twenty-three, her black veil and white habit shrouding that tiny figure as she moved about her new domain with the soft practiced step of the accustomed nun. She was young, but she had taken the veil at the age of eight before that disastrous illness struck her, and she was used to convent ways. Now she found herself in an enviable situation—at the head of a rich community, with its many subsidiary convents and monasteries looking to her for guidance; in touch with intelligent correspondents all over the realm and indeed out of it; with a full treasury to her hand and that a free hand; her Convent visited, admired, imitated by the greatest in the land. These came to see for themselves the routine of the Royal Convent or to bring sisters or daughters to take the veil, or merely to do honor to their kinswoman, the Abbess. Her sister-in-law, Marie de Luxembourg, came accompanied by a son, the Cardinal de Bourbon and five grandchildren, one of whom became a novice. The famous Chevalier Bayard was one of her visitors, and Marguerite of Navarre, the gifted and

adored. At another time, Marguerite's lumbering, good-natured, stingy sister-in-law, the Duchess of Alençon, brought one of her thirteen children to take the veil at Fontevrault. The King's mother, Louise of Savoie, came on a pilgrimage and the King's first wife Claude, and even the King, that great, irresistible charmer, Francis I himself. He brought with him a young abbess, his natural sister, to see and admire the rule of the Abbey. And there were swarms of lesser Valois, Bourbons, Montmorencies, d'Albrets,—Renée might drink her fill of earthly distinction.

Yet Renée's mind dwelt on other things than power and prestige. She had ideals for her Convent and she had also immediate problems and obstacles to deal with. These concerned abuses, even rebellion,—but to grapple with such things was not necessarily, it may be said, a distasteful effort to one of her temper.

After the first years—or the first century—of the Order's existence, when ardor had had time to cool, the convents had slipped into easy ways. The monks, above all, digesting ill what seemed to them that unnatural rule of their Founder's about man's obedience to woman, fell away from their duty to the Abbess and drew off to manage alone their own affairs as men and monks. It is easy to see, once rebellion became precedent, what a front entrenched prejudice must have offered to any Abbess who should attempt to bring it to terms. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, laxity of discipline and rebellion were constantly in evidence. One Superior after another made attempts—mostly abortive—to restore discipline and order. In the fifteenth century at least *one*, Marie de Bretagne, set her hand sternly to the task, induced the Pope to have the convents visited, and even secured from him a bull authoritatively restoring the Abbeys to their Founder's rule. As token of her satisfaction she left to the Order a splendid fortune. But Fontevrault had, under her successors, relapsed into the old easy recalcitrant ways, and Renée when she "made her entry and was inducted into her Abbey," cast on it a disapproving eye and determined on a most thorough reform.

It was an arduous undertaking enough, for she not only aimed at seeing that the Founder's rules were enforced and her own au-

thority rendered absolute, but was minded to further the ends of piety by cloistering her nuns, which thing had never been done before. She began, wisely enough, by endeavoring to persuade the subsidiary establishments to accept reform, strict "clausure" and obedience. With this end in view, she undertook, in her litter, long journeys which were, in those days, most difficult and dangerous, and her untiring efforts, added to those of her predecessors, were crowned with a full measure of success. The dependent monasteries accepted reform one after another with more or less grace, but Fontevrault, alas!—the crown and jewel of all—remained recalcitrant, even after twelve years of effort.

But Renée was determined. If she dealt with Fontevrault last it was to be the more sternly. Off she set in 1503 to Paris in her indefatigable litter and got the Parliamentary Court to pass a decree legalizing her attempts at reformation. Having on her return "declared to the nuns her wishes and intentions," and, recognizing that they were as determined as she was, that they meant to defy her, to go their own way and to support the monks in going theirs, Renée, "guided," we are told, "by great and marvellous zeal for the honor of God and the augmentation of holy observance, gathered together at great expense a company of wise and powerful persons, both monks and laymen, and, by their aid and counsel, expelled the rebellious nuns" who resisted her reform and packed them off in litters "honorably accompanied, to pass the rest of their lives religiously and devoutly" in her other reformed convents, where—it is to be inferred—they could do no harm. Meanwhile she imported more docile nuns from outside convents, sending as far as Normandy and Paris to secure the most devout or the most malleable. But this was not all. Renée had in her mind stern ideas of the cloister, and with these in view she began to build around the monastery a great wall, which, by the King's own command—Francis I, strict in piety if lax in manners, had become thoroughly interested in her projects—was to be finished by a grille and tower. The Royal Officers were beginning to set up the grille when the rebellious monks, helped by such discontented nuns as remained, interposed repeated physical resistance. Renée appealed to the law—got in fact the sixteenth century equivalent

of an injunction—and then persuaded her brother to lend his soldiers, the King's Swiss guard, for the purpose of bringing force to bear. The soldiers and guards "cast out" a number of the guilty nuns and their leaders, important members, holding indeed the chief offices of the Community. "Madame," the chronicle reads, "had them led off in litters carried by monks, and in chariots also and all at her own expense." Thereupon the King's officials set the grille and completed the tower. We might, *mutatis mutandis*, be reading of local authorities dealing with a strike in our own time.

Even though the Convent was thus, by the departure of such numbers, reduced almost to a solitude, it still—so it appeared—harbored rebellion. Inspired by some of the remaining nuns, the expelled monks who had returned by stealth helped by certain townsmen entered one of the monks' dormitories, drove out the dutiful brethren who had remained, broke down the tower and grille, and openly defied their feminine Superior. She was quite equal to the situation, entirely undaunted in fact, and she took such measures—of their nature we are not informed—that, under their compulsion, the rebellious monks appeared crestfallen and contrite before her in front of the great grille and, under the eyes of the military authorities, humbly asked her pardon. The Abbess received them into her grace, after which no one again ventured to create disorder of the kind.

Shortly after this incident, Renée set a practical example of her teaching by herself taking the vow of the cloister, "which no Superior of the Order had ever done before." We may imagine what it cost her! For that active and indefatigable spirit so to restrict herself was as if a formidable pugilist should tie one hand behind his back. Journeys to seek the aid of courts or of the great, or to secure the support of other convents, were thereafter of course out of the question. Renée was left to fight it out with her subordinates on her own ground with such support only as she could obtain by correspondence.

And she felt the change. The troublesome monks began to practice the intrigue for which there is always room in secluded establishments and succeeded in getting the ear of sisters who were

in her confidence. Through them they brought pressure upon her to leave to the monks that authority over their own affairs which they had gradually gained before her attempts at reforming them. They threatened that, if she did not yield, they would—as was apparently in their power—use their suffrage to make her office merely triennial. Renée—for the sake of peace and for the very sake and safety of her reform—was obliged to concede much and to come to terms at last somewhat humiliating. Worse, when she fell grievously ill, the rebels wrested from her in her weakness nearly all their demands—practical nullification of her reforms and a great diminution of her own powers—by the threat that when she was dead her successors should be chosen triennially and not in perpetuity. That she felt herself forced by this threat to yield, “to the unsupportable prejudice of her authority” is evidence that her concern was for her community and not for her own power; but the Convent records shed another light upon her character by adding simply enough that as soon as she was well again she revoked her concessions! She had strength enough for that and, with whatever constant strain and struggle, she held her own from thenceforth to the end.

She occupied her time in endless correspondence, successfully attempting to secure the legal sanction of her reforms. She received it in 1519 after fifteen years of unceasing effort “by all ways and manners possible”—and after five further years of tireless application she secured a Papal bull to support the legal sanction. As a last triumphant move she got the King’s Council to send to Fontevrault a commission consisting of six neutral monks from other Convents on whose report the Council added its final sanction to the rest.

That was the crown of her efforts. We may fancy her secure, justified, triumphant, settling down to enjoy, so far as Convent vows permit enjoyment, the remnant of her days. It was certainly not without its satisfaction. Renée spent it in building “with great charm and without vulgar ostentation.” She sold all her personal treasures and with the proceeds of the sale added splendor to the fine mass of the Convent buildings, the number of whose devotees she had by her vigorous disciplinary measures so remarkably diminished.

She died at last, very quietly, a little, determined, triumphant, far-seeing old woman, surrounded by deferential and respectful and faithful nuns. The noble edifices which she left behind are her best, indeed her only, monument. They make a claim on the gratitude of generations quite ignorant of the other task which Renée so zealously performed, for she, as little as any of us children of fate, knew which of those efforts that her heart was set upon should, on the one hand, serve humanity and which, on the other hand, was dedicated to nothingness.

CAROLINE RUUTZ-REES

THE ORCHARD SCENE IN *TYDOREL* AND *SIR GOWTHER*

IN an article on the Lay of *Yonec*, which appeared in this review, X (1919), pp. 123 sq., I called attention to a group of stories dealing with a theme, analogous to that of Marie's poem, in which a supernatural being, god, angel or devil, appears to a mortal woman, maid or wife, begets a child, and before his departure from her gives her a name which she is to bestow upon the child which she will bear. My evidence showed that this theme, which may be called that of the Supernatural Father, was, on the one hand, very common in oriental and classical literature, and, on the other, was wide-spread and popular in the west before the Lay of *Yonec* was written. I suggested, also, that the detail of the bestowal of the name derived ultimately from sacred story, whether Lives of the Saints, or, more probably, directly from apocryphal versions of the birth of Christ.

These same apocryphal Gospels furnish us also, it seems to me, the source of another episode which is found in some stories dealing with the theme of the Supernatural Father, and it may not be amiss to summarize briefly the story of Christ's birth as it is told in the so-called *Pseudo-Matthew*. This Latin version of the Gospel story was derived either directly from a Greek version, the *Protevangelium Iacobi*, dating not later certainly than the 3rd century, or from the same sources as the latter; and was current as early at least as the 5th century. Upon it in turn was based another Latin Gospel, the *Evangelium de Nativitate Mariae*.¹

The *Pseudo-Matthew* begins with an account of the parents of Mary, Anna and Joachim. The latter was a wealthy shepherd who had been married to his wife for twenty years. In spite of their prayers for a child, they had had no issue, and one day, when

¹ These Gospels are edited by Tischendorf, *Evangelia Apocrypha*, 2nd ed., 1874. For their relationship and general history, cf. his Prologomena; Tasker, in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Extra Volume, N. Y., 1904, pp. 420 sq.; Bauer, *Das Leben Jesu im Zeitalter der neustestam. Apokryphen*, 1909, pp. 29 sq.

Joachim went into the temple, the High Priest refused his offering on the ground that God had cursed him. Joachim, therefore, in the deep sorrow of his heart, left his wife and home and departed with his flocks to a distant land, so that for five months he was able to hear no word from his wife. She, in the meanwhile, was filled with grief, and one day weeping bitterly she went out into the orchard of her house and poured forth her soul to God in prayer. Raising her eyes to heaven she saw a nest of sparrows in a laurel tree, and she cried aloud to God that He would give her, as He had given to these birds and to the beasts of the field, a child which, male or female, she might consecrate to His service in His temple. As she spoke there appeared suddenly before her a handsome youth, who declared himself to be an angel of the Lord, sent to tell her that she would have issue, and that what she should bear would be the wonder of the world without end. About this time also the same angel appeared to Joachim, who was with his flocks on the hills, and told him that his wife had conceived from his seed, which God had quickened, and that she would bring forth a daughter who would have a place in the temple of God; that in this daughter the Holy Spirit would abide, and that she would be blessed above all women; the angel then bade him return to his home. Joachim obeyed, and in the fulness of time a daughter was born to Anna and she named the child Mary.

The writer indulges, thereupon, in a long description of the remarkable powers of this precocious child, matter which may be omitted here since it does not concern the question in hand. When she was fourteen years of age, the High Priest announced that, according to the law, a woman of that age could not remain in the temple, but must be given in wedlock to some man of one of the tribes of Israel. The husband was to be chosen by divine lot, and the lot, denoted by the flowering of his staff, fell upon Joseph, an old man. He enters a disclaimer on the ground of his age, refusing to marry a girl who was not any older than his grandchildren. He consents, however, to keep Mary under his charge until he might learn from God to which one of his sons he should marry her. The High Priest decides, however, that Mary can marry no one else, and he appoints five maidens to stay with her in Joseph's house until he has made up his mind to obey the Lord's command.

So to Joseph's house went Mary attended by the five maidens, but Joseph departed to a distant place to engage in his work as carpenter. One day, while Mary was standing by the well waiting to fill her urn, there appeared before her an angel of God, a young man, who declared to her that a light from heaven would come and abide in her; and a second time, while she was in her room, the same angel, in the shape of a handsome youth, appeared, and made a similar declaration, adding that she would bring forth a king who would reign for ever and ever.

After nine months had passed, Joseph returned, and noticing the condition of Mary, concludes that she has been unfaithful. He questions her attendants, but they assure him that no mortal man has been near her, that they have watched over her carefully, that daily came angels of God unto her and conversed with her; and that, in short, no one except the angel of God could be responsible for her condition. Joseph expresses doubt of this and suggests the possibility that some one might have disguised himself as an angel and thus deceived her. He decides, therefore, to withdraw from the eyes of men, but the angel appears to him in a dream, bids him take Mary without fear, and tells him that she has conceived by the Holy Spirit, and will bring forth a son: "and his name will be called Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins."

The account given in the *De Nativitate Mariae* differs, as far as our theme is concerned, only slightly from this. In the story of Anna and Joachim it adds the incident of the bestowal of the name upon the child before birth, but omits this detail in the case of the child of Joseph and Mary. In the latter story it omits, also, the meeting between the angel (who is expressly named Gabriel) and Mary at the well.²

That these stories are based upon the wide-spread belief³ that

² In the *Protev. Jacobi*, ch. XI, the angel does not, as in *Ps. Matth.*, appear in person to Mary while she is at the well, but only as a voice, and not until she reaches her room does he come in bodily shape. The specific name for the angel comes from Luke, I, 26. On the part which is assigned to Gabriel in Gnostic and other writings, cf. Bauer, *op. cit.*, pp. 52 sq.

³ Cf. the references cited in my earlier paper, pp. 137 sq.; Hartland, *Primitive Paternity*, I, pp. 16-17; Weinreich, *Der Trug des Nektanebos*, Leipzig, 1911, p. 1, n. 4. Weinreich does not bring the apocryphal Gospels into his discussion, although Joseph's reply to the maidens, when he questions them concerning

supernatural beings can have intercourse with mortal women, there can be no doubt. The maidens who attend Mary in Joseph's house were sure that an angel and no mortal man was responsible for her condition. As far therefore as the fundamental idea is concerned, this story of the birth of Mary is to be compared with Marie's *Yonec* and similar stories in oriental and classical literature such as I cited in my former article, which deal with the theme of the Supernatural Father. There are, however, several details which differentiate the story of Anna and Joachim very decidedly from the *Yonec* and similar tales. Whereas in the latter group the woman, whose barrenness and longing for a child are never emphasized, is in her room—either of her own volition or because she is confined there by a father or a jealous husband when the divine being appears to her, in the former, and in the *Ps.-Matthew* version of the Mary story, she is out of doors when the supernatural being approaches her.⁴ Anna, brokenhearted by the disgrace which has come upon her husband because of her barrenness, goes out into her garden (*παράδεισος* in the Greek version, *pomerium* in the Latin), and casts herself down in prayer beneath a laurel tree. Mary likewise is out of doors, standing by the well, when the angel first appears to announce her approaching motherhood.

There are, however, two well-known stories of the Middle Ages dealing with our theme in which these very details are made prominent, in which are emphasized the barrenness of the woman, her grief over her childless state, and her longing⁵ for a child, and in which the woman, instead of being in her room when the supernatural being appears, is in her garden or orchard, under a tree.

The first of these stories is the French poem, the lay of *Tydorel*, Mary's condition, affords interesting evidence for the existence, outside the Alexander story, of tales dealing with a mortal's masquerade as a god.

⁴ In numerous other stories also, which, however, are generally to be assigned to a different type of tale, the meeting between the supernatural being and the mortal takes place by a spring, well, or river. Such a setting is natural in stories which originated among southern peoples and is common in oriental and Greek literature. Cf. the references cited in my article on "The Stag Messenger," A. J. P. XXXVII, 1916, pp. 387 sq.

⁵ This feature is, of course, common and characterizes a group of tales to which Breul, who has studied the cycle in his *Sir Gowther, eine Englische Romanze aus dem XVten Jahrhundert*, Oppeln, 1866, applied the name "Kinderwunsch"; cf. Crane, *Rom. Rev.* V, 1914, pp. 55 sq.

certainly posterior to Marie's *Yonec* and influenced by it.⁶ In this poem a king is away from home hunting; his wife, who has been barren during their ten years of wedlock, goes one day into her garden, sits down under a fruit tree, and falls asleep. Upon awakening she is confronted by a handsome youth who confesses his love for her, carries her away upon his steed across a lake, tells her that she will bear him a son, whom she will name Tydorel, and that he will become great.

The other story is the English romance, *Sir Gowther*, a version of the well-known Robert the Devil story.⁷ Here a duke and his wife are childless and grieve much on this account. The latter,

“preyd to god and Mare mylde,
Schuld gyffe hur grace to have a chyld,
On what maner scho ne rosth.
In hur orchard opon a day
Ho meyt a mon, þo sothe to say,
þat hur of luffe besosth,
As lyke hur lorde as he myst be:
He leyd hur down under a tre,
With hur is wyll be wrosth.”

The lady then goes to her chamber and tells her husband (vs. 83 sq.).

“To nyst we mon geyt a chyld,
þat schall owre londus weld.
A nangell com fro hevon bryght,
And told me so þis same nyght,
Y hope, was godus sond.”

This is the only version of the Robert the Devil story in which the meeting between the woman and the supernatural being takes place in a garden, or orchard, under a tree, and many years ago Professor Kittredge called attention⁸ to the similarity between this scene in *Sir Gowther* and that in the lay of *Tydorel* to which I have referred. He cited as a parallel another English poem, *Sir Orpheo*,

⁶ Edited by G. Paris, *Rom.* VIII, 1879, pp. 66 sq. Cf. Miss Ravenel, *P. M. L. A.* XX, 1905, pp. 152 sq.

⁷ Edited by Breul, *op. cit.* For the subject of the theme connected with Robert the Devil, cf. Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 55 sq.

⁸ In *A. J. P.* VII, 1886, pp. 178 sq.

which is based, as far at least as its subject goes, upon the classical story of Orpheus and Eurydice. In this poem Heurodys, the queen—whether she is barren or not, we are not told—is sleeping under a tree in her orchard when the fairies come and carry her off to their abode. In this case, moreover, her husband is with her and a large band of knights; nor is the theme connected in any way with the theme of the Supernatural Father. Professor Kittredge was sure, however, that *Sir Orpheo* owed many of its details to Celtic literature, and he included among these details this scene in the orchard. This conclusion he supported by the following evidence:—the orchard scene occurs in *Tydorel*, which is, therefore, a Celtic lay because it contains an orchard scene similar to that in *Sir Orpheo*, and because, in some English ballads, a mortal man is asleep under a tree when the fairies come to him. *Sir Gowther*, therefore, because it contains an orchard scene similar to that in *Sir Orpheo* and *Tydorel*, and because this scene occurs in no other version of Robert the Devil, and because in all other versions of the latter story Robert is devoted to the devil before his birth, whereas in *Sir Gowther* he is the son of a daemon, must be derived, in regard to these details, from Celtic literature.

These conclusions might be deemed plausible if there was cited from Celtic literature any story—any story, that is, the Celtic or, more specifically, Irish origin of which rests upon a sounder foundation than mere assumption—in which, as in *Tydorel* and *Sir Gowther*, a woman who is barren and longs for a child is visited, during the absence of her husband, by a supernatural being while she is in a garden or an orchard under a tree. Not only, however, is no such story cited, but in an early Irish tale which deals with the theme of Robert the Devil, the orchard scene has no place.⁹

Of the ultimate source of this scene there can be, it seems to me, no doubt. No one can read the lines from *Sir Gowther*, with their emphasis upon the sadness of the man and the wife over their childless state, the wife's prayers to "Mary mild," the description of the scene in the orchard, the appearance of the supernatural lover whom she describes as an angel bright, and her expressed hope that

⁹ This tale forms the first part of the *Imram Húi Corra*, edited and translated by Stokes, *Revue celtique*, IX, 447 sq.; X, 50 sq.; cf. Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 sq.

he prove to be the son of God, without catching the echo of the old Apocryphal story of Anna, the wife of Joachim. It is evident, also, that the similar scene in *Tydorel* derives from the same source or from some version of it. The universal popularity of these Apocryphal Gospels throughout the Middle Ages is attested not only by the many versions of them in the vernacular, but by the wide use made of them generally,¹⁰ and nothing is more natural than that such a feature as this orchard scene should have passed from them into profane literature. Whether in the case of *Tydorel* and *Sir Gowther* the borrowing was direct, as I am inclined to think was true of the latter,¹¹ or whether the episode had already become traditional and been carried from story to story *per ora virum*, to be caught finally by a poet who gave it literary treatment, cannot be settled definitely, and no one cares; we can say decisively, however, that Celtic literature had nothing whatever to do with the origin of the orchard scene.

M. B. OGLE

UNIVERSITY OF VERMONT

¹⁰ Cf. Paris, *La Littérature française au Moyen Age*, 5th ed., sec. 141; Meyer, *Rom. XXXV* (1906), pp. 337 sq. So the *Ps.-Matth.* was used by Hrotsvita in her version of the Mary story, cf. Strecker, *Neue Jahrb.* XI (1903), pp. 576 sq.; by Wace, in his *L'Etablissement de la Conception Notre-Dame*, and by the author of the *Cursor Mundi*, II, 10123 sq.; cf. Haenisch, in Morris' edition of the *Cursor*, E. E. T. S., pp. 13 sq., 31 sq. For the use of it by later writers, among them Jacobus a Voragine and Vincent de Beauvais, cf. Tasker, *op. cit.*

¹¹ The use in the English version of the word "orchard" seems to point to a translation of the Latin *pomerium* rather than of the French *jardin* (*Tydorel*, vs. 40). According to Miss Ravenel, *op. cit.*, *Sir Gowther* is the result of a fusion of elements drawn from *Robert le Diable* and the *Lai de Tydorel*, and she apparently accepts the conclusion of Professor Kittredge in regard to the provenience of the orchard scene.

AMERICAN TRAVELLERS IN SPAIN (1777-1867)*

I.—PRIMITIVE CONSTRUCTION OF THE INNS

THE American traveller's impressions of the inns were quite as unfavorable as were his impressions of the roads and conveyances. The earlier travellers tell us that in the more primitive houses there were no windows, the only light coming from the open door or the opening in the roof above the hearth.¹ Adams writes from Bilbao, January 15, 1780:

"The houses, as well as everywhere else, were without chimneys, fires or windows; and we could find none of those comforts and conveniences to which we all had been accustomed from the cradle, nor any of that sweet and quiet repose in sleep, upon which health and happiness so much depend."

Even where there were windows, there was in many cases no glass, nothing but the wooden shutter to be opened or closed at will. Adams describes the two windows in his room at Castellano as "port holes, without any glass" with two wooden doors to open and shut before them.² In the houses of the villages through which Mrs. Cushing passed on her way from Irún to Tolosa there was no glass. Sometimes there was an iron grating, but usually she found only chinks cut in the wall to admit light.³ Even at the *Fonda del Obispo* in Toledo there was no glass in the windows. When the shutters were closed the room was perfectly dark and when opened thoroughly chilled.⁴ While she found that the houses of the better class had balconies, the windows opening upon these did not always

* This article is part of an extended study of the impressions of American travellers in Spain, of which it will form a single chapter (provisionally chapter V).

¹ John Adams and Mrs. A. Adams, *Familiar letters of John Adams and his wife*, New York, 1876, p. 376.

² John Adams, *The works of John Adams*, Boston, 1850-56, vol. iii, p. 242.

³ Caroline Elizabeth Cushing, *Letters, descriptive of public monuments, scenery, and manners in France and Spain*, Newburyport, 1832, vol. ii, p. 10; cf. Joseph Townsend, *A Journey through Spain in the years 1786 and 1787*, London, 1791, vol. i, p. 92.

⁴ C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 154.

have glass.⁵ At the village inn of La Puebla the windows consisted of several panels opening separately, so that one could let in as little or as much light and air as desired. On a journey from Granada to Barcelona in 1829, Irving makes the following entry in his journal at Lorca on the third of August: "No glass in these parts of Spain."⁶ In the miserable *venta* of Esteras where the anonymous author of *Scenes in Spain* stopped in 1831 there was but one small window and this was of oiled parchment.⁷ Cheever tells us that the room he occupied at one of the inns between Colmenar and Granada had only one grated window. This was without glass but had a wooden shutter to keep out the damp air.⁸ Sometimes there were small panes of glass set in the wooden shutters. The sitting-room of a *venta* where Bryant stopped in 1857 was so lighted but the sleeping rooms were dark.⁹

The discomfort caused by the lack of windows was augmented in many cases by the peculiar arrangement of stable and living rooms. Frequently in the *ventas*, mules and other animals were kept in the same room as the guests, and during the greater part of the period we are studying, the stable, even in the cities, was usually found under the same roof as the living rooms. Arthur Lee was much disgusted during his short visit to Spain in 1777 at finding the living rooms over the stables.¹⁰ Adams found in Galicia a similar arrangement of the kitchen on the same floor as the stable.

"On the same floor with the kitchen was the stable, but this was always open, and the floor of the stable was covered with miry straw like the kitchen. I went into the stable, and saw it filled on

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁶ *The Journals of Washington Irving* (from July, 1815, to July, 1842); ed. by William P. Trent and George Hellman, Boston, 1919.

⁷ *Scenes in Spain*, New York, 1837, p. 220.

⁸ *Knickerbocker Magazine*, vol. xix, p. 122; cf. C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 232.

⁹ William Cullen Bryant, *Letters of a Traveller*, New York, 1859, p. 116; cf. Alexandre Dumas, *Impressions de Voyage*, Paris, 1854, vol. ii, p. 43. This absence of glass in the windows was noted also by Gautier. He writes of a village he visited in 1846: "Torquemada est remarquable par l'absence complète de vitres." The inn he tells us was the only building which had this "luxe inouï." Théophile Gautier, *Voyage en Espagne*, Paris, 1875, p. 58.

¹⁰ Arthur Lee, *Journal* (MS.), Manuscript Division L. C.; cf. Henry Swinburne, *Travels through Spain in the years 1775 and 1776*, London, 1779, p. 117.

both sides with mules belonging to us and several other travellers, who were obliged to put up by the rain."¹¹

At Villafranca he writes in his diary:

"The houses are uniformly the same through the whole country, hitherto—common habitations for men and beasts; the same smoky, filthy holes; not one decent house have I seen from Corunna."¹²

Jay found the same arrangement at the inns on the road from Cádiz to Madrid in 1780. "The mules were generally lodged under the same roof, and my bedroom has frequently been divided from them by only a common partition."¹³ Monroe during his journey from Irún to Madrid in 1804, and Ticknor, while travelling from Barcelona to the capital in 1818, were impressed by this same peculiar plan of living rooms and stable under one roof. Monroe writes of the inn at Irún in 1804: "I entered the best tavern with our mules, the ground floor of which was given up to them." Just before reaching Madrid he enters in his diary:

"The first floor in every house was occupied by the mules, and the second by the proprietors. I am now within 28 leagues of Madrid and I have lodged every night in the house with the mules who have been the companions of my journey."¹⁴

Ticknor in a letter dated Madrid, May 23, 1818, says: "Since I left Barcelona I have not been in a single inn where the lower story was not a stable." "Twice," he adds, "I have dined in the very place with the mules."¹⁵ Mackenzie stopped for a night at a *posada* where the stable under the living rooms was lighted by holes pierced through the ceiling.¹⁶ Mrs. Cushing, like Ticknor, once dined in the same place as the mules. In one of her letters she writes of a *venta* between Burgos and Madrid:

¹¹ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 241; cf. *ibid.*, p. 242.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 246.

¹³ John Jay, *Correspondence and public papers*, New York, 1890, vol. i, p. 335; cf. Swinburn, p. 80.

¹⁴ James Monroe, *Diary* (MS.), Manuscript Division, N. Y. P. L.

¹⁵ George Ticknor, *Life, Letters and Journals*, Boston and New York, 1909, vol. i, p. 185. Other travellers had similar experiences on this route.

¹⁶ Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, *A year in Spain*, New York, 1836, vol. iii, p. 177. Cf. *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 59, 60; Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, *Life*, Boston and New York, 1893, vol. i, p. 126.

"The apartment, into which we were shown as our dining-room, was so dark, damp, and gloomy, that we insisted upon the table's being set in the front part of the house, in a large court, which served as a common passage for man and beast, and a portion of which was actually occupied as the stable. This was much the most comfortable place that the house afforded, and here we sat down to a most miserable dinner, which scarcely sufficed to appease our hunger for the remaining four hours of the day, in which we were to continue on the road. Just as we were finishing the dessert, a demure, staid-looking *borrica* marched up to the table, and stood close at my side, waiting with all possible patience for its expected share of the fruit."¹⁷

Even when Wallis was in Madrid in 1849 the ground floor of the largest tavern was given up to the mules.¹⁸ In the northwestern Pyrenees three years later Channing found pigs, mules, and hens in the wretched houses of the post towns.¹⁹ Taylor describes the *venta* at Gaucin, where he stopped for a night in 1852, as "one room—stable, kitchen, and dining-room all in one."²⁰ The *posada* where Schroeder stopped at Loja was built on the same plan.²¹ At Quintana in 1857 Bryant lodged at an inn which he says consisted like most Spanish inns of stables on the first floor and dwelling-rooms on the second.²² Pettigrew, like Adams, found the kitchen was sometimes on the lower floor where the mules were kept. He writes of his entrance into the *posada* at Alhama in 1859: "Pushing my way through the kitchen and among the mules I mounted to the first story to see the accommodations."²³

Not only American travellers but also those of other nationalities were impressed by this arrangement of stable and living rooms. Gautier writes of a *posada* in Castilla la Vieja:

¹⁷ C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, pp. 45, 46. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 181; *Scenes in Spain*, pp. 46, 222, 223. Other Americans and the well known English traveller, Richard Ford, give similar accounts.

¹⁸ Severn Teackle Wallis, *Spain*, Boston, 1853, p. 5. Other Americans make similar statements.

¹⁹ Walter Channing, *A physician's vacation*, Boston, 1856, p. 472.

²⁰ Bayard Taylor, *The lands of the Saracen*, New York, 1856, p. 444. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 405; *Knickerbocker*, vol. xix, p. 124; Gautier, p. 197.

²¹ Francis Schroeder, *Shores of the Mediterranean*, New York, 1846, vol. ii, p. 109.

²² Bryant p. 111; cf. *ibid.*, p. 114.

²³ J[ames] J[ohnston] P[ettigrew], *Notes on Spain and the Spaniards, in the summer of 1859*, Charleston, 1861, p. 249.

"La posada où l'on s'arrêta pour dîner avait pour vestibule une écurie. Cette disposition architecturale se reflète invariablement dans toutes les posadas espagnoles, et pour aller à sa chambre il faut passer derrière la croupe des mules."²⁴

II.—WRETCHED CONDITIONS OF CERTAIN INNS

As might well be expected, such an arrangement of the interior was not conducive to cleanliness. Consequently we find that not a few of the American travellers mention filthy conditions encountered.¹ No one was more impressed with the filth in Castilla la Vieja than was Lee in 1777: "From the stable which is the common receptacle of horses, asses, mules, dogs, hogs, beggars, and idlers," we read in his journal, "you ascend to your room, where you are received by all manner of vermin, and where everything is as dirty as if a general and constant hydrophobia possessed this detestable people."² His general impression of Guipúzcoa, however, seems to have been much better. In the first named province "pride, poverty and dirtiness reign absolute" while in the latter the people are "stout, well fed and clothed." Adams found the houses in Galicia and León quite as filthy. The first floor was nothing but the ground covered with straw trodden into mire; on the second floor, which was never swept or washed, smoke, soot, dirt and vermin were everywhere. The Maragato women he found more nasty than squaws.³ Like Lee, Adams seems to have been more favorably impressed by Guipúzcoa. He found the houses there and in Vizcaya larger and more convenient than those in Galicia, Castilla, or León, but the public houses were much the same. The inn at Briviesca was a large one with twelve good beds, but the house was, like all others he had seen, smoky and dirty. Bryant finds at this same place in 1857 a "decent spacious inn full of guests." The town itself, however, he describes as dirty and badly paved.⁴

²⁴ Gautier, p. 32. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 67; Richard Ford, *Gatherings from Spain*, London, 1846, p. 172.

¹ Cf. J. Fr. Bourgoing, *Tableau de l'Espagne Moderne*, Paris, 1797; George Borrow, *The Bible in Spain*, New York and London, 1896; [Julia Clara (Busk)] Byrne, *Cosas de España*, London and New York, 1866. Others, too numerous to mention here, found similar conditions.

² Lee, *Journal* (MS.).

³ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, pp. 241, 242, 245-247, 250, 253, 254, 257.

⁴ Bryant, p. 89.

So filthy was the best tavern at Irún in 1804 that Monroe was obliged to look for accommodations elsewhere.

"I ascended to the second floor thro a mass of filth on the staircase into an apartment that exhaled a flavor which was highly offensive. In the apartment were six or eight young men of different nations, Spaniards, Portuguese and French, who had been detained there some time by the cordon which was established by the French Gov^t, to prevent all communication from Sp^a. on acc^t. of the yellow fever wh^h. was at Cadiz and some other posts. I felt an unexpressible desire to get out of the house and procure other lodgings as soon as possible."

As there was no room available at this inn Monroe gladly went to another which had been procured for him, thinking he would fare better, but this was quite as bad as the first. "They were both in the extreme," says Monroe, "and neither co^d. be said to be worse than the other."⁵ A quarter of a century later Mrs. Cushing presents a picture of an inn at Irún, the same in construction but much cleaner.

"Ascending a stair-case leading from one side of the stable, we came to a second floor, and were shown into a room, which, although wholly unadorned, and destitute of any superfluous accommodations, was nevertheless sufficiently commodious and neat in appearance, to insure us against any difficulty on the score of a comfortable night's lodging."⁶

Monroe found great filth at the other stopping places on his way to Madrid.⁷ Wallis, whose impressions in 1849 are quite as unfavorable, writes of the poor inns he encountered on the road from Bayonne to Madrid:

"As to the 'entertainment for man' with which we were favored, under the auspices of the *Postas Peninsulares* in whose diligence I travelled, it is a matter of duty to those who may follow me to say, that it was as detestable as can be imagined. The humblest *ventorrillo* on the Andalusian hills, where I partook of game and salad in former days, while the fleas took reprisals from me, was a palace

⁵ Monroe, *Diary* (MS.).

⁶ Vol. ii, p. 4; cf. Bryant, p. 47.

⁷ Monroe, *Diary* (MS.).

for a Sybarite, in comparison with some of the *paradores* into which we were now compelled to burrow."⁸

Bryant on the contrary finds great cleanliness at these inns about eight years later. A friend of his had told him at San Sebastián that he would not find luxury at the inns on his journey to Madrid but that he would find great cleanliness. At Vegara where he finds the rooms "as clean and bright as a Dutch parlor," Bryant writes: "We have been thus far agreeably disappointed in seeing the promise of cleanliness so well fulfilled."⁹

At the capital Monroe stopped at the best inn, *La Cruz de Malta*, but even this was not as clean as Parisian inns although it was better than anything he had found since leaving France.¹⁰ Some months later George Erving, United States minister to Spain from 1805 to 1819, stopped at the same inn. After a fruitless search for clean, respectable furnished lodgings, he decided to rent a house, and himself furnish the rooms needed. In a letter to Monroe dated Madrid, November 18, 1805, he says:

"On account of the temporary nature of my employment I should have taken furnished lodgings if any which were respectable or were clean could have been found; but after staying a fortnight at the Cross of Malta concluded that the best mode was to take a house with bare walls, and furnish such apartments in it as are necessary."¹¹

⁸ Wallis, *Spain*, p. 3. Conditions encountered by numerous other travellers seem to have been quite as wretched.

⁹ Bryant, p. 73.

¹⁰ Monroe, *Diary* (MS.).—Townsend, who travelled in Spain in 1786 and 1787, stopped in Madrid at a hotel by the same name. Townsend, vol. i, p. 347.—This as well as the other inns at the capital he found good. *Ibid.*, p. 290.

¹¹ James Monroe, *Letters* (MS.), Manuscript Division, N. Y. P. L.—The inns of Madrid impressed Laborde as being very poor, but *La Cruz de Malta* was not as bad as the others in his opinion: "La Croix de Malte est la moins mauvaise. On y trouve plusieurs autres auberges, dont les prix sont plus modiques; mais elles sont rarement décentes, et on y est mal nourri et logé." Alexandre de Laborde, *Itinéraire descriptif de l'Espagne*, Paris, 1808, vol. iii, p. 149.—Ingliš found this inn very bad in 1830: "The dirtiness and want of comfort in the Cruz de Malta would have driven me into private lodgings, even if the charges in the hotel had been supportable." Henry D. Ingliš, *Spain in 1830*, London, 1831, vol. i, p. 85.—No traveller, however, speaks as critically of the inns at Madrid as does the Spanish writer, Larra. In *La Fonda Nueva* he says: "¿Quiere usted que le diga yo lo que nos darán en cualquier fonda a donde

Ticknor writes from Madrid June 3, 1818:

"In the first place I am settled in lodgings procured for me by Mr. Erving, with people he knows to be honest, and whom I find uncommonly neat; which, you will observe, are the two rarest virtues in Spain."¹²

Vail in 1840 finds that in respect to accommodations one is but a shade better off at the capital than on the road.

"It is singular that in a metropolis like this, with a population of two hundred and twenty or thirty thousand, there are but two hotels, and they are kept by Frenchmen. In each there are accommodations but for half a dozen persons and those of such a description as would do no credit to our smallest country towns."¹³

In speaking of the houses he says it is difficult to keep them clean and orderly as the climate is favorable to the propagation of vermin. Wallis complains of poor accommodations in the capital nine years later. "He will be a wise man who reads the principle backwards, and remembers that the *Fonda de las Postas Peninsulares* being the largest tavern in Madrid, is of necessity the worst."¹⁴ The *Fonda de las Postas Peninsulares* which Wallis finds very bad is mentioned by Bryant in 1857. The latter says the hotels of Madrid have the reputation which they deserve of being the worst to be found in any of the large capitals.¹⁵

Ticknor's picture of the inns between Barcelona and Madrid is a dark one, even worse than that of Laborde. The filth, especially, made a very disagreeable impression on him. This was so great that he generally preferred staying in the carriage when they

vayamos? Mire usted, nos darán en primer lugar un mantel y servilletas puercos, vasos puercos, platos puercos y mozos puercos sacarán las cucharas del bolsillo donde están con las puntas de los cigarros." Mariano José de Larra, *Obras Completas*, Barcelona, 1886, p. 285. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 450; Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *Panorama Matritense*, Madrid, 1881, pp. 89, 92.

¹² Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 187.

¹³ *The Van Buren papers* (MS.), Manuscript Division, L. C., vol. 41.

¹⁴ *Spain*, p. 4,

¹⁵ Bryant, p. 123. Cf. Wallis, *Spain*, p. 5; Byrne, vol. i, pp. 169-171, 182; *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 295.—According to Mrs. Le Vert it was possible to find an excellent *casa de huéspedes* when she was in Madrid in 1855. Octavia Le Vert, *Souvenirs of travel*, New York, 1859, vol. ii, p. 15.

stopped rather than go into the squalid houses.¹⁶ His description of the wretchedness of these inns recall those of Swinburne and of Bourgoing.¹⁷ An American who travelled here in 1831 found the best inn at Zaragoza extremely filthy.¹⁸ Pettigrew in 1859 was pleasantly impressed with the hotel in this same city.¹⁹ Until about the middle of the nineteenth century most American travellers describe the inns at Barcelona as very dirty.²⁰ Later travellers found them clean although still uncomfortable in some respects.²¹

The American traveller's impressions of the inns of the Mediterranean provinces of Spain are on the whole much more favorable than those of Swinburne.²² It is true that Cartagena is described by Americans as being very filthy.²³ Moreover, Vassar found the rooms of the inns between Murcia and the capital generally dirty.²⁴ Irving writes in his journal that the *Fonda de la Paz* at Valencia is filthy. However, the Valencia pictured by most Americans, is

¹⁶ *George Ticknor's Travels in Spain*, University of Toronto Studies No. 2, Toronto, 1913, pp. 24, 25. Cf. Townsend, vol. i, pp. 92, 222, 225, 229; Laborde, vol. ii, pp. 9, 12, 48.

¹⁷ Swinburne has left a sketch of the *Venta del Platero* in Catalonia, a *venta* which he describes as "a hovel that beggars all description." "We were lodged," he says, "in part of a ground floor, the remainder of which was occupied by the mules and pigs." Swinburne, p. 80.—Bourgoing's impressions of the inns on this route were no better than those of his English predecessor. The *Venta de Santa Lucia* beyond Villafranca he describes as "la plus dégoûtante des hôtelleries espagnoles." Bourgoing vol. i, p. 57.

¹⁸ *Scenes in Spain*, p. 234.

¹⁹ Pettigrew, p. 73.

²⁰ Cf. Ticknor, *Travels*, p. 12; John Adams Dix, *A winter in Madeira; and a summer in Spain and Florence*, New York, 1853, p. 318; E. C. Wines, *Two years and a half in the navy*, Philadelphia, 1832, vol. i, p. 225; Severn Teackle Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, New York, 1849, p. 46.

²¹ Cf. John Milton Mackie, *Cosas de España*, New York, 1855, p. 141; Le Vert, vol. ii, pp. 48, 57.

²² Most of the cities and towns of the Mediterranean provinces were as pictured by Swinburne in 1775 and 1776 extremely filthy. Cf. Swinburne, pp. 80, 99, 104, 190.

²³ Manuel Mordecai Noah, *Travels in England, France, Spain, and the Barbary states, in 1813-15*, New York, 1819, p. 170; Francis B. Crowninshield, *The story of George Crowninshield's yacht, Cleopatra's barge, on a voyage of pleasure to the Western Islands and the Mediterranean, 1816-1817*, comp. from journals, letters, and log-book, Boston, 1913, p. 108; John Guy Vassar, *Twenty years around the world*, New York, 1861, p. 325.

²⁴ Vassar, p. 328; cf. Bryant, p. 161.

much more attractive than the Valencia described by Swinburne.²⁵ Horner found the streets well paved with pebbles and in a tolerable state of cleanliness.²⁶ Dix in 1843 thought Valencia the most beautiful of the towns he had seen in Spain.²⁷ Warren writes enthusiastically of the view of this city in 1849: "The first view of Valencia burst upon me like the wondrous city of a dream."²⁸ Here he found excellent accommodations in the *Fonda del Cid*. Irving in 1828 was much disgusted with the squalid inn at Granada as he was with the Spanish *posadas* in general. In a letter dated Granada March 15, 1828, he writes to Mademoiselle Bollviller:

"One is exhausted by incessant fatigue and put out of all tune by the squalid miseries of the Spanish *posadas*. I am now so surrounded by dirt and villainy of all kinds that I am almost ashamed to dispatch a letter to your pure hands from so scoundrel a place."²⁹

Towards the middle of the century impressions of the accommodations here were more favorable. In 1857 Bryant describes the *Fonda de Minerva* as "a tolerable hostel."³⁰

Málaga, which left so unpleasant an impression on the English traveller Townsend in 1786 and 1787, is spoken of in favorable terms by most American travellers.³¹ Noah, during his sojourn in the city, stopped at a large, comfortable hotel which was the best he had yet seen in Spain.³² Baker writes in 1819 that Málaga has good accommodations for foreigners. He adds that there are several very decent lodging houses, and some inns, one of which is not excelled for capacity in room and entertainment in any other

²⁵ Swinburne (p. 99) describes the streets as knee deep in mud and the houses as filthy.

²⁶ Gustavus R. Horner, *Medical and topographical observations upon the Mediterranean*, Philadelphia, 1839, p. 47.

²⁷ Dix, pp. 314, 315.

²⁸ John Esaias Warren, *Vagamundo*, New York, 1852, p. 281.

²⁹ Washington Irving, *Life and Letters*, New York, 1892, vol. ii, p. 88; cf. *Scenes in Spain*, p. 49.

³⁰ Bryant, p. 203.

³¹ "Hence it comes to pass that in the city few traces of industry are seen, whilst filth and nastiness, immorality and vice, wretchedness and poverty, the inevitable consequences of indistinguishing benevolence, prevail." Townsend, vol. iii, p. 17.

³² Noah, p. 164.

seaport town of Spain.⁸³ Woodruff's impressions in 1828 are quite different. He finds the streets badly paved and dirty, in fact the whole city in a dilapidated condition generally.⁸⁴ Later travellers speak favorably of accommodations in Málaga. In the fifties a very good hotel called the *Fonda de la Alameda* is frequently mentioned. As early as 1853 it had what was then a luxury in Spain, good baths. In 1857 it was called one of the best hotels in Spain.⁸⁵

According to American travellers the city which impressed one by its cleanliness was Cádiz. Judging from their descriptions, it was, in this respect, the city *par excellence* of Spain. These impressions are just the opposite of Swinburne's picture of Cádiz in 1776.⁸⁶ Noah was struck with the cleanliness of the city in 1813. Mrs. Allen in 1864 had never seen a cleaner city. Mrs. Claghorn, who found little to please her in Spain, describes Cádiz as "a bright clean city," in 1866. While not as enthusiastic in speaking of the accommodations afforded travellers as in speaking of the cleanliness of the city in general, the American traveller seems to have carried away with him a favorable impression of the few hotels mentioned. Noah found the hotel of the *Quatro Naciones* tolerable but he says there was not a good hotel in the place although it was then a city of importance. The American Consul told Noah that because of the lack of suitable accommodations the supercargoes of vessels generally lodged in the houses of the consignees and that at one time he had forty in his house.⁸⁷ In the forties there was a great

⁸³ John Martin Baker, *A view of the commerce of the Mediterranean*, Washington, 1819, p. 37.

⁸⁴ Samuel Woodruff, *Journal of a tour to Malta, Greece, Asia Minor, Carthage, Algiers, Port Mahon, and Spain, in 1828*, Hartford, 1831, pp. 231, 235; cf. Horner, p. 72.

⁸⁵ Bryant, p. 193. Cf. *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, by "a bachelor," New York, 1853, p. 371; Taylor, p. 434.

⁸⁶ At the time of Swinburne's visit, Cádiz (p. 216) was even worse than Valencia. He found the streets badly paved, extremely filthy and filled with bad odors. So overrun were they with swarms of rats that the late pedestrian was exceedingly troubled. Townsend corroborates these statements about ten years later and describes the improvements which took place after Count O'Reilly became governor. "For their pavements," he says, "for the cleanliness of their streets, for a well regulated police, for some of the best edifices, and for many wise institutions they have been indebted to their late governor, Count O'Reilly. Townsend, vol. ii, p. 346.

⁸⁷ Noah, p. 65.

improvement in the hotels of Cádiz. Dix in 1843 found very good lodgings, and Warren in 1849 considered the *Fonda de Europa* the best in the country.³⁸ While Mills in 1865 does not speak in such high praises as the latter, he too, found it clean.³⁹

From the forties on, the American traveller's impressions of the accommodations in the larger towns and cities seem to be more favorable. The inns of the smaller towns and the country *ventas*, however, he found generally filthy up to the end of the period we are studying.⁴⁰ Even among these he occasionally found one that was clean. The landlady of the *posada* at Alcalá la Real reminded Vassar in 1842 of a Dutch housewife for cleanliness.⁴¹ Few were the inns like the little *posada* at La Carolina which Pettigrew visited in 1859. Its well swept tiled floor he considered worthy of Holland.⁴² Some of the inns of the Basque provinces, also, he found neat.⁴³ Mrs. Le Vert seems to have found most of the *posadas* and other places where she stopped in 1855 fairly neat.⁴⁴ Nearly ten years later, Mrs. Allen on the contrary, describes the inns in general as very dirty. Of those on the road from Málaga to Granada she writes: "The inns or *posadas* by the way are so filthy that no ladies can enter them."⁴⁵ On her arrival at Bayonne, she expresses her satisfaction at finding herself again in a French hotel "where cleanliness, a rare luxury in Spain, was the rule."⁴⁶

³⁸ Warren, pp. 181, 182; cf. Taylor, p. 392.

³⁹ L[ewis] E[ste] Mills, *Glimpses of southern France and Spain*, Cincinnati, 1867, p. 99.

⁴⁰ Ford (p. 167) does not think it advisable for English ladies to stop at the inns off the main roads.

⁴¹ P. 142.—This recalls Gautier's impressions of his room in the *posada* of the village of Astizarraga in 1840: "Quand on nous mena dans nos chambres, nous fûmes éblouis de la blancheur des rideaux du lit et des fenêtres, de la propreté hollandaise des planchers, et du soin parfait de tous les détails." P. 23; cf. *ibid.*, p. 183.

⁴² P. 144. Cf. Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 223; Longfellow, *Outre-mer*, Boston, 1846, p. 285.

⁴³ P. 363.—There even Swinburne found the first one he stopped at extremely clean. P. 425.

⁴⁴ Le Vert, vol. i, p. 320; vol. ii, pp. 8, 11, 15.

⁴⁵ Harriet Trowbridge Allen, *Travels in Europe and the East*, New Haven, 1879, p. 483.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 504; cf. Byrne, vol. ii, p. 252.

In Estremadura where the roads were poor and where there was less travelling, the accommodations impressed the traveller as being inferior.⁴⁷ Stevens in 1866 describes the stage inn at Mérida as exactly like those pictured in *Don Quijote*.⁴⁸ Galicia and the Asturias, likewise little visited by foreigners, left a similar impression on the traveller.⁴⁹

In those primitive inns where the living rooms were in such close proximity to the stable, there were swarms of vermin which prevented many a weary traveller from resting during the few hours halt of the diligence. Arthur Lee found the inns of Castilla la Vieja teeming with vermin in 1777.⁵⁰ Jay on his journey from Madrid to Irún in 1782 did not escape the fleas and bugs.⁵¹ Bryant had an uncomfortable night at Aranda in 1857 because of the fleas.

"We had an uncomfortable time that night with the fleas, which, I suppose, swarmed up from the stable below; and we were not sorry to leave our beds and our dirty inn with early light."⁵²

Adams found fleas and lice universal in the houses of Galicia in 1779.⁵³ At Astorga, on his way to France, he writes: "Found clean beds and no fleas for the first time in Spain."⁵⁴

According to Ticknor the inns on the road through Aragón from Barcelona to Madrid were quite as bad as those described by Adams in Galicia. He states in a letter written at Madrid, May 23, 1818: "Since I left Barcelona I have not been in a single inn where the lower story was not a stable, and of course the upper one

⁴⁷ Joseph Warren Revere, *Keel and saddle*, Boston, 1872, p. 56; cf. Laborde, vol. i, p. 378.

⁴⁸ [Henry S. Stevens], *From Cleveland, Ohio, to Brazil, and from South America to Europe*. Letters to Cleveland Herald, by H. S. S. [Cleveland? 1866?], p. 36; cf. Larra, p. 450.

⁴⁹ At Pontevedra Borrow found "more than the usual amount of Galician filth and misery." Vol. i, p. 396.

⁵⁰ Lee says that no attention is shown the travellers at the inns "but by the fleas and other vermin who pay their compliments in troops." Lee, *Journal*.

⁵¹ Jay, *Correspondence*, vol. i, p. 309; cf. *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, p. 35.

⁵² Bryant, p. 114.

⁵³ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 244.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 247; cf. Borrow, vol. i, p. 320.

as full of fleas as if it were under an Egyptian curse."⁵⁵ Pettigrew speaks of the vermin at the inns of Aragón in 1857. His hostess at Venasque arranged for her son to accompany him as far as Barbastro. "She, herself," he says, "followed with the assurance that her son was a most excellent individual eminently a *mozo de confianza*, and by way of farther recommendation, he could lodge me at private houses where there were neither fleas, nor bugs, *ni pulgas*, *ni chinches* (fond delusion!)"⁵⁶

In Andalucía the traveller was particularly troubled with vermin at the inns.⁵⁷ Jay found the *posadas* between Cádiz and Madrid in 1780 more tolerable than he had expected but the rooms were swarming with fleas and bugs. Describing a *venta* at which he stopped between Granada and Córdoba in 1842 Vassar says: "We were almost devoured by fleas."⁵⁸ At one time it was apparently so unusual to find sleeping quarters free from vermin that when such were found, travellers seemed to consider the fact worthy of mention. Warren was impressed with the fact that hotel *Vista Alegre*, at Puerto de Santa María was free from *pulgas*.

"Here the traveller will find a comfortable, though unpretending hotel, the 'Vista Alegre,' where he will be able to secure a well cooked repast, and if he needs it, likewise a decent bed, unhaunted by fleas, or gallinippers of any kind! Such quarters are deserving of notice, if for no other reason than their extreme rarity, as Spanish *Fondas* are, as a universal rule, the worst provided, and most uncomfortable in the world."⁵⁹

Thus March states that at the *Fonda Vista Alegre*, Puerto de Santa

⁵⁵ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 185. Cf. *Scenes in Spain, passim*; *The Van Buren papers*, vol. 41, Vail to Van Buren, Madrid, Dec. 10, 1840; Pettigrew, pp. 64, 299. Many similar cases are mentioned by other travellers.

⁵⁶ Pettigrew, p. 56; cf. *ibid.*, p. 67.

⁵⁷ Jay, *Correspondence*, vol. i, p. 335. Cf. *Letters of Washington Irving to Henry Brevoort*, New York, 1915, vol. ii, p. 223; *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 410. Others report similar conditions.

⁵⁸ Vassar, p. 141; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 142, 329.—Gautier to the contrary writes of the inn at Ocaña: "Les insectes dont l'on nous avait fait de si fourmillantes descriptions ne se produisaient pas encore, et notre sommeil ne fut troublé par aucun cauchemar à mille pattes." Gautier, p. 183.

⁵⁹ Warren, pp. 195, 196.

María, and the *Posada de la Paz*, Gaucin, there were no *pulgas* in 1853.⁶⁰

In the capital itself the traveller was not free from this annoyance. Vail writes in 1840 that the houses of Madrid are so constructed that it is difficult to keep them clean and orderly, especially as the climate is favorable to the propagation of vermin.⁶¹ Wallis in 1849 finds the principal inn of the city constructed on the old plan so that the odor, the fleas and the horse flies from the lower floor circulate in the rooms above.⁶²

Most of the travellers seem to have been of the opinion of March, who said: "Doubtless the two most vexatious institutions in Spain are the beggars and the *pulgas*."⁶³

III.—HEATING FACILITIES

The American who travelled in Spain during cold weather was, moreover, impressed by the lack of proper heating facilities at the inns. Adams and his party took violent colds during their travels in Spain because of the lack of heat in the houses on the road. He writes from Bilbao January 16, 1780: "We arrived here last night, all alive but all very near sick with violent colds taken on the road for want of comfortable accommodations.¹ We read in his diary under the entry of January the sixth:

"The weather is very cold; the frosts hard, and no fire when we stop, but a few coals or a flash of brush in the kitchen, full of smoke and dirty and covered with a dozen pots and kettles and surrounded by twenty people looking like chimney-sweepers."²

These houses, he tells us, had no chimneys, only holes in the roof to let out the smoke. Speaking of his journey as far as Bilbao, he

⁶⁰ Charles Wainwright March, *Sketches and adventures in Madeira, Portugal, and the Andalusias of Spain*, pp. 157, 305.

⁶¹ *The Van Buren papers*, vol. xli, Madrid, Dec. 10, 1840; cf. Mesonero Romanos, *Panorama Matritense*, p. 92.

⁶² Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 5. Cf. *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, Madrid, 1843, vol. iii, pp. 160, 165, 235-238; *Panorama Matritense*, p. 108; Byrne, vol. ii, p. 319.

⁶³ P. 431; cf. Larra, p. 165.

¹ *Familiar letters*, p. 373.

² *Works*, vol. iii, p. 250.

says: "Through the whole of the journey the taverns were inconvenient to us, because there are no chimneys in their houses, and we had cold weather."³ The kitchen fire of one of these chimneyless inns at which he was obliged to stop is described as follows:

"In the middle of the kitchen was a mound, a little raised with earth and stone upon which was a fire, with pots, kettles, skillets, etc., of the fashion of the country, about it. There was no chimney. The smoke ascended, and found no other passage than through two holes drilled through the tiles of the roof, not perpendicularly over the fire, but at angles of about forty-five degrees. On one side was a flue oven, very large, black, smoky, and sooty."⁴

Ticknor observes in 1818 that the inns between Barcelona and Madrid had no fireplace other than a hearth in the centre of the building which put out the eyes of the occupants with smoke. Mrs. Cushing in 1829 remarked that the smoke issued in clouds from small openings cut in the roof for that purpose, from chinks in the walls, and from the open door.⁵

Longfellow describes a hearth which he saw in a room about ten feet square with walls sloping upward like a pyramid to an opening where the smoke escaped.

"Quite round this little room ran a row of benches, upon which sat one or two grave personages smoking paper cigars. Upon the hearth blazed a handful of fagots, whose bright flame danced merrily among a motley congregation of pots and kettles, and a long wreath of smoke wound lazily up through the huge tunnel of the roof above. The walls were black with soot, and ornamented with sundry legs of bacon and festoons of sausages; and as there were no windows in this dingy abode, the only light which cheered the darkness within came flickering from the fire upon the hearth, and the smoky sunbeams that peeped down the long-necked chimney."⁶

³ *Familiar letters*, p. 373. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 376; *The revolutionary diplomatic correspondence of the United States*, Washington, 1889, p. 458.

⁴ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 241. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 242, 244-246, 250, 253, 255; Swinburne, p. 71.

⁵ P. 10. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 3, 4, 149; *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 110; Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 4.—Gautier was impressed with this primitive construction in 1840 at the inn of Torquemada. Although it had the unheard of luxury of panes of glass in the windows, it had a kitchen with a hole in the ceiling—"n'en a pas moins une cuisine avec un trou dans le plafond." P. 58.

⁶ *Outre-mer*, pp. 174, 175; cf. Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 5, 65. Several others paint similar pictures.

Mackenzie was impressed with a similar hearth which took up the whole corner of the kitchen at the Vitoria inn where he stopped in 1834:

"In one corner of the room, which was of great extent, was a large chimney, in the middle of which blazed a fire consisting of a mass of live embers, fed by large logs, the ends being thrust together like the spokes of a wheel, and pushed forward from time to time, as they consumed away, while on either side within the spacious area of the chimney itself were capacious wooden benches with backs, into one of which I hastened to throw myself, having for my companion a retired old colonel, who sat quietly smoking in the post of honor in the corner and who presently engaged me in agreeable conversation."⁷

The absence of fireplaces in the sleeping rooms is frequently noted by American travellers. Mackenzie says that Madrid in 1826 was so seldom visited by foreigners that it was ill provided for their accommodation. His room at the *Fonda de Malta*, the best hotel in the capital, had no fireplace. His window never got the sun and it was so cold that there had already been ice. Mrs. Cushing observed in 1829 that the *Madrileños* did not know how to guard against the cold and that there were few fireplaces in the city. In fact she found the fireplace hardly known in all Spain.⁸ Rear Admiral Charles Steedman of the United States Navy on his visit to the Mediterranean ports of Spain in 1837 and 1838 found no fireplaces except in the houses of English and American consuls.⁹ According to Warren, fireplaces were of so recent introduction when he was in Spain in 1849 that it was very difficult to secure a room that had one. Wallis, however, was impressed with the fact that fireplaces and other modern improvements were beginning to be introduced that same year in the capital.¹⁰ Nevertheless Mrs. Le Vert's impression six years later seems to be that there are few in the city.¹¹ Mills found rooms with fireplaces at the capital in

⁷ Alexander Slidell Mackenzie, *Spain revisited*, New York, 1836, vol. ii, pp. 295, 296.

⁸ C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 24. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 56; Revere, p. 64; *The Van Buren papers*, vol. xliii; Larra, p. 286.

⁹ Charles Steedman, *Memoirs and correspondence*, Cambridge, 1912, p. 85; cf. Dix, p. 276.

¹⁰ Wallis, *Spain*, pp. 8, 9.

¹¹ Le Vert, vol. ii, p. 32

1865 but they were at a very high rate.¹² Mackie, in 1851, was struck by the absence of fireplaces in Barcelona. There was only one in the town and that was in the house of an Englishman. Speaking of his room in one of the principal *fondas* he says:

"There was no fire-place! There was none in any of the rooms. There was none short of the kitchen, and what is more, there was but one, as I afterward learned, in the whole town of Barcelona. That had been set up by an Englishman of course."¹³

Mrs. Le Vert found the rooms cold at Cádiz in 1855 because there were no fireplaces.¹⁴ Even ten years later Mills finds the inns of Spain very uncomfortable because of the cold, there being no fireplaces except in a few new hotels.¹⁵ The fireplace in the *posada* at El Escorial was the first he had seen since leaving Bayonne.¹⁶

The stove, according to Warren, was an unknown luxury in Spain when he was there in 1849.¹⁷ Not one had he seen in the whole country. Moreover, he believes that it would be very difficult to transport them into the interior from abroad. But he adds: "If ever a railroad is laid down from Cádiz to Madrid, a cargo of cooking stoves will prove a most profitable speculation."¹⁸ Mackie about two years later was impressed with a modern improvement for heating at the hotel in Barcelona. This was a small pipe which passed from the kitchen through the room to the roof and at least took off the chill.¹⁹

¹² Mills, p. 55.

¹³ Mackie, p. 143; cf. Vassar, p. 317.

¹⁴ Le Vert, p. 328.

¹⁵ Mills, p. 47; cf. *ibid.*, p. 153.

¹⁶ Mills, p. 56.—Mrs. Byrne travelling in Spain the following year notes the absence of this very important part of the English house: "Fireplace, of course, there was none. This constitutes a chapter in domestic economy unknown to the *penates* of the Peninsula—no blazing hearth have they, round which to gather on the chill winter's night. They know not the mysterious power of that domestic magnet which draws the whole family circle, from grandsire to grandchild inclusive, within one small concentrated focus of sympathy; and unites, in one common bond of unity, the affection of three generations." She adds that in some of the best houses there are French fireplaces in which olivewood is burned, giving a good blaze. Vol. ii, p. 325.

¹⁷ Warren, p. 28; cf. Larra, p. 286.

¹⁸ Warren, p. 112.

¹⁹ Mackie, pp. 151, 152.

A means of heating which is mentioned by nearly all travellers, but which is considered by them quite insufficient, is the *brasero*.²⁰ It is described by travellers as a pan, either of copper or of brass set in a large wooden frame sometimes of very beautiful wood such as mahogany, raised just enough from the floor on wooden legs so that the feet of those sitting around it may comfortably use it as a foot rest. Mackie tells us that the *brasero* is filled with a superior kind of charcoal. This is previously burnt in the open air and stirred until it ceases smoking and until the injurious gases have passed off. When the coals are covered with a layer of white ashes it is brought in.²¹ "In the palaces of the nobility," says Warren, "these vessels are made in an ornamental manner, and sometimes enclosed in an immense china vase with numerous little holes at the top for the escape of the heated air."²² Sometimes the *brasero* was placed under the dining room table.²³ Sometimes the sleeping room was heated with it.²⁴ According to Admiral Steedman it was placed under a circular table covered with a thick cloth. Those sitting around it were able to keep their feet and legs warm but their backs were cold.²⁵ Mrs. Le Vert was impressed with the contrast of the *brasero* to the good coal-fires at home.²⁶ According to Mills the

²⁰ Cf. Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 250; C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, pp. 56, 57; Vassar, p. 317; Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 6; Bryant, p. 206; and others.—Mesonero Romanos says of the *brasero*: "He aquí un objeto paramonte español."

²¹ Mackie, p. 144. Cf. C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 24; Ramón de Mesonero Romanos, *Escenas Matritenses*, Madrid, 1881, p. 363.

²² Warren, p. 112.

²³ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 119. Cf. Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 4.

²⁴ Caleb Cushing, *Reminiscences of Spain*, Boston, 1853, vol. i, pp. 106, 107. Cf. C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 24; Mackie, p. 144.

²⁵ Steedman, p. 85; cf. Byrne, vol. ii, p. 326.

²⁶ Le Vert, vol. i, p. 329; cf. *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 32. Mrs. Byrne notes this contrast and is even more critical than American travellers. She writes in 1866 that there is a scarcity of fuel in La Mancha and that people are obliged to burn chopped straw and vine twigs in their "wretched *braseros*." Vol. ii, p. 262.—In another place she calls the *brasero* "a wretched apology for a fire." *Ibid.*, p. 326.—Again she writes: "Here the *brasero* is the only recognized fireside; and it is, in the eyes of an Englishman, a sorry substitute for all that his own implies; it seems to acknowledge the necessity of a family centre, but it does not realize it." Byrne, vol. ii, p. 325.—The Spaniard's impression of the *brasero* is quite different from that of the foreign traveller in the country. Flores sings its praises in his "*Cuadro cincuenta y dos, Al amor de la lumbre*, of an interesting volume called *Sociedad de la fé en 1800*. No one, however, shows the

brasero was the only means of heating apartments when he was in Spain in 1865 and it did not impress him as being a satisfactory one. The hotel where he stopped at Burgos was uncomfortable. As there was only a *brasero* of charcoals to warm the room he de-

good qualities of the beloved *brasero* better than Mesonero Romanos. It is interesting to note that he uses much the same arguments in defending it against the invasion of the English mode of heating, which he considers inferior to the Spanish, as Mrs. Byrne uses in speaking of the former which she finds far superior to the latter. *Escenas Matritenses*, p. 364.—In his *Panorama Matritense* he writes: "No se puede negar que un brasero defendido por diez ó doce personas, todas alegres, todas amables y sin grandes pretensiones, es una de las cosas que inspiran mayor confianza y dan rienda suelta al natural ingenio para desenvolverse sin aquellas trabas que la afectación, el orgullo y el falsamente llamado *buen tono* suelen imponerle." P. 206.—Very conservative and much attached to native customs and things, he regrets the invasion of foreign influence following the death of Ferdinand VII and fears that his cherished *brasero* along with many other things Spanish will be relegated to the past. In his *Escenas Matritenses* he says:

"Verdad es que, según van las cosas en la patria del Cid, dentro de muy poco tiempo acaso no tengamos ya objetos indígenas de que ocuparnos, cuando leyes, administración, ciencias, literatura, usos, costumbres y monumentos que nos legaron nuestros padres acaben completamente de desaparecer, que, á Dios las gracias, no falta mucho ya."

"Entonces desaparecerá también *el brasero*, como mueble añejo, retrógrado y mal sonante, y será sustituido por la *chimenea* francesa, suiza ó de Albion; y la badila dará lugar al fuelle, y soplaremos en vez de escarbar." P. 359.

He compares the *brasero* with the stove, which he calls a stupid method of heating: "La *estufa*, pues, es un método de calefacción estúpido, y carece de todo género de poesía." P. 363.—For him no means of heating can be compared to the *brasero*: "Denme el *brasero* español, típico y primitivo, con su sencilla caja ó *tarima*; su blanca ceniza y sus encendidas ascuas; su badil excitante y su tapa protectora; denme su calor suave y silencioso, su centro convergente de sociedad, su acompañamiento circular de manos y piés. Denme la franqueza y bienestar que influye en su calor moderado, la igualdad con que le distribuye, y si es entre dos luces, denme el tranquilo resplandor ígneo que expelen sus ascuas, haciendo reflejar dulcemente el brillo de unos ojos árabes, la blancura de tez oriental."—According to Mesonero Romanos, even in the social aspect, the *brasero* is superior to the fireplace: "Además ¿cómo comparar á la chimenea con el brasero bajo el aspecto social, quiero decir, *sociabilitario* ó *comunista*, para que nos entendamos?" *Ibid.*, p. 364.—He sums up his pleadings in defense of the Spanish mode of heating in the following words: "Vemos, pues, que ni social, ni política, no humanitariamente hablando, puede compararse la benéfica influencia del brasero con la de la gállica chimenea.—En cuanto á lo económico seguramente que también tiene la preferencia, por más accesible y de más seguro efecto; y por lo que dice relacion á la forma, tampoco teme la comparación.

Y sin embargo de todas estas razones, el *brasero* se va." *Ibid.*, p. 366.

cided to go on to Valladolid.²⁷ There conditions were no better. At Cádiz he suffered from both the cold, and the fumes from the *brasero*.

"It was cold in the evening certainly, and when tired of shivering in shawls and overcoats, we inhaled headaches from the *brasero*, and were not in a frame of mind to praise the hotel very highly."²⁸

C. EVANGELINE FARNHAM

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

(*To be continued*)

²⁷ P. 47.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 99. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 153; Mackie, p. 144; Byrne, vol. ii, p. 326.

THE PRONOUNS OF ADDRESS IN *DON QUIJOTE*

ANTONIO DE TRUEBA, in the middle of the last century, makes the hero of one of his stories receive a letter written while in a very disturbed frame of mind by the young woman whom he wants to marry. The young lady's emotion is evident from her indiscriminate use of the pronouns *vos* and *usted*, and calls forth from the young man the exclamation: ". . . Esta chica que hablando es tan mona y tan discreta, es tonta de la cabeza escribiendo. ¡Qué mescolanza del usted y del vos! ¡Qué frases de la literatura del género tonto! ¡Qué salidas del pié de banco!"¹ It was to look into such a mescolanza that the study was undertaken, a part of whose results are here set forth.

The purpose of this paper is to exhibit the statements of the grammarians relative to the use of the pronouns of address at the beginning of the seventeenth century and to show from examples cited that the grammatical statements are not adequate.

To illustrate what was the accepted usage, all the cases of direct address in *Don Quijote, Part I.* have been examined, not in the expectation of constructing from a single work of a single author a new and complete classification, but to establish the fact that a definitive statement of the accepted use of the pronouns of address has not yet been made.

The following are believed to be all the formal statements of grammarians concerning the principles that governed the use of *tú*, *vos*, *él* and *vuestra merced* in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Of *tú*: Valdés (1533) says, speaking of final "d" in the imperative plural, "Póngola por dos respetos: el uno por henchir mas el vocablo; i el otro, porque haya diferencia entre el "toma" con el acento en la *o*, que es para quando hablo con un mui inferior, a quien digo *tú*: i tomá, con el acento en la *a* que es para quando hablo con un casi igual, a quien digo *vos*."²

¹ Antonio de Trueba, *El Camino Torcido*, chap. VI, in *Colección de Autores Españoles*, XIX, 133; Leipzig, 1875.

² Valdés, *Diálogo de la Lengua*, p. 76. Madrid, 1860.

Ambrosio de Salazar (1614) speaks of *tú* as employed "como del padre al hijo, ó de amo a criado."³

Correas (1626) says, "De *tú* se trata a los muchachos y menores de la familia y a los que se quieren bién."⁴

Monreal (1878) in his article *Mercedes y Señorías* adds to the above that "el *tú* era ya entonces el tratamiento de los amantes."⁵

With reference to *vos*, Valdés' statement is quoted above.

Covarrubias (1611) adds that it was a "Pronombre primitivo de la segunda persona plural (aunque usamos de él en el singular), y no todas veces es bien recibido con ser en latino término honesto y común a todos."⁶

Salazar, in the same passage as quoted above, adds, "A gente de menor estado. . . . De manera que cuando se habla ó se trata a uno de *vos* lo tiene de afrente grande por la causa dicha."⁷

Cejador: "Indicaba *vos* inferioridad. Cuando el *vos* no era recíproco era pues humillante si no injurioso: entre los que lo usaban mutuamente indicaba igualdad."⁷

Correas, in the same citation as above quoted, says, ". . . y-cuando nos enojamos ó reñimos con alguno le tratamos de *él* ó de *vos* por desdén. . . . De *vos* tratamos a los criados y mozos grandes y a los labradores y personas semejantes; y entre amigos a donde no hay gravedad ni cumplimiento se trata de *vos*. Y aún en razonamientos delante de reyes y dirigidos a ellos se hablan de *vos* con debido respeto y uso antiguo."⁸

But in disagreement with the above statement is that of Monreal, "Porque es de advertir que, contra la hoy vulgar creencia, el tratamiento de *vos*, lejos de significar consideración y respeto, como equivocadamente muchos creen, tratándose de aquella época, era signo de menosprecio, ó por modo de familiaridad, y tan solo se usaba con personas a las que se tenían por inferiores en categoría, ó con quienes mediaba íntimo trato. . . . He dicho que el *vos* era tra-

³ Salazar, *Espejo General de la Gramática en Diálogos*, p. 175. Orig. Ed. Rouen, 1614. (Quoted by Marín in *Don Quijote*, III, 448.)

⁴ Correas, *Arte Grande de la Lengua Castellana*, 233, Madrid, 1903.

⁵ Monreal, *Cuadros Viejos*, Madrid, 1878.

⁶ Covarrubias, *Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana*. 1611.

⁷ Cejador, *La Lengua de Cervantes*, II, 1154. Madrid, 1906.

⁸ Correas, *Arte Grande*, Id.

tamiento humillante y ahora añadido que hasta se empleaba en ocasiones como un ultraje, según era quien lo daba." And the author cites a passage in *Persiles y Sigismundo* to support his view, later adding, however, "El tratamiento de *vos* no siempre era señal de menosprecio, sino que a veces demostraba confianza entre los que se lodaban mutuamente."⁹

Other modern annotators who treat the subject are Castro, who says, "*Vos* era mirado como tratamiento demasiado familiar,"¹⁰ and Marín, who, commenting on the world *oíslo*, adds the remark, "porque, en efecto, entre marido y mujer era usual antaño el tratamiento de *vos*,"¹¹ and in another place remarks that *vos* was "tratamiento que solo se daba a los inferiores ó a los iguales con quien se tenía grande familiaridad."¹²

Of *él*, used as a term of address, though it is rare, if indeed it can be identified anywhere in *Don Quijote*, the notices of the grammarians may be of interest.

Salazar mentions its use with "gente amigos y familiares."¹³

Correas, more at length, says, "*El* usan los mayores con *él* que no quieren darle *merced* ni tratarle de *vos*, que es más bajo y propio de amos a criados. La gente vulgar y de aldea que no tiene uso de hablar de *merced* llama de *él* al que quiere honrar de los de su jaez."¹⁴

Concerning the use of *vuestra merced* and its variants the authorities are of one mind. It was used "a gente de calidad"¹⁵ and "a personas a quien respetamos ó queremos dar honra, como son jueces, caballeros, eclesiásticos, damas y gente de capa negra, y es lo más despues de *señoría*."¹⁶

Marín and Cejador, among modern annotators, are in agreement with the above. "Para hacerlo bien a los iguales en no habiendo muy estrecha amistad con ellos había de tratarse de *vuestra merced*

⁹ Monreal, Id.

¹⁰ Castro, *Obras de Quevedo*, in *Clásicos Castellanos*, p. 217, Note.

¹¹ Marín, *Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra—Don Quijote*, Madrid, 1916, I, 259, Note.

¹² Same, III, 448, Note.

¹³ Salazar, *Espexo General*, quoted by Marín, *Don Quijote*, III, 448, Note.

¹⁴ Correas, *Arte Grande*, 233.

¹⁵ Salazar, quot. by Marín, *Don Quijote*, III, 448, note.

¹⁶ Correas, Same as above.

y no de *vos*.”¹⁷ “El trato de *vuestra merced* era común de cortesía y consideración entre iguales y aún de respeto hácia los superiores como hoy su abreviatura *usted*.”¹⁸

To summarize briefly the above statements:

Tú was used to address social inferiors, servants and children; and between intimate friends and lovers.

Vos was employed to address Deity, the Saints and royalty; reciprocally between familiar friends and those of equal social rank; to one of almost equal social rank; toward servants and those of manifestly inferior rank, which makes it sometimes the medium of an affront or an insult; and between husband and wife.

El, though not frequently used, was regarded as somewhat more deferential than *vos*, but less so than *vuestra merced*.

Vuestra merced was used to show respect and honor.

Perhaps no single literary production of the Siglo de Oro is more perfectly adapted to test the foregoing standards than is the First Part of *Don Quijote*. It is of acknowledged excellence and authority in matters of language; it portrays the life and speech of the people in a wide range of circumstances; and it is conversational and narrative in form rather than poetical or dramatic. The text to which references are made is that of Marín (Madrid, 1916). The examination is intended to show whether all, or nearly all, of the cases in which Cervantes employs the pronouns of address in *Part I*. may be grouped under the above mentioned categories; whether other clearly defined usages are discernible; and whether the cases in which a speaker changes from one pronoun to another are of significance and, if so, what that significance may be.

The traditional classification partially covers Cervantes' use of *tú*. There are no small children addressed, but a *family relationship* may be responsible for Don Quijote's use of *tú* in speaking to his niece,¹⁹ the inn-keeper's in addressing his grown daughter,²⁰ and Don Fernando's in addressing his newly found nephew, the returned captive.²¹

¹⁷ Marín, *Don Quijote*, III, 448, note.

¹⁸ Cejador, *Lengua de Cervantes*, II, 1154 a.

¹⁹ I, 250.

²⁰ II, 488.

²¹ II, 252.

As a master to his servant, Don Quijote always uses *tú* with Sancho Panza (with certain notable exceptions to which attention will be called later). The other servants are, however, addressed by their masters and by others with *vos*, except in one case where the inn-keeper uses *tú*, in conjunction with a vile name, in speaking to his maid.²²

As lovers, Cardenio addresses Luscinda,²³ and Dorotea addresses Fernando²⁴ with *tú*.

But in addition to these, there is a group of cases where *tú* is used to apostrophize an absent person or one who is separated from the speaker by an impassable barrier. Don Quijote thus addresses the magician who is to be the chronicler of this "pilgrim tale";²⁵ in the same manner he calls upon Dulcinea²⁶ (except in the very few instances in which he uses *vos* in calling her to his aid as a supernatural being). He also thus addresses the giant who, he imagines, is before him in the guise of a wine-skin.²⁷ *Tú* is also employed by the "oidor" in apostrophizing his absent brother,²⁸ and by Sancho Panza—a noteworthy case—in apostrophe to Don Quijote.²⁹ These should not be confused with those invocations to supernatural beings where we should expect to find, and in fact do find, *vos* employed.

There is another group of cases sufficiently large to deserve attention. The shepherds use *tú* with one another,³⁰ with the stranger Ambrosio, apparently one of their own class,³¹ and with Marcela,³² who has been a play-shepherdess, though never on terms of intimacy with them, and Marcela uses it with them. Intimacy is not the key to this usage, for plainly that does not exist between certain of these characters, nor is it consistently used as a mark of depreciation. Correas, in the statement quoted above¹⁴ in connection with the use

²² I, 472.

²³ III, 124.

²⁴ III, 119.

²⁵ I, 109.

²⁶ I, 145.

²⁷ III, 94.

²⁸ III, 270.

²⁹ III, 469.

³⁰ I, 351, 360.

³¹ I, 401, 403.

³² I, 421, 424.

of *él* "by village folk who are not accustomed to the use of *merced*," furnishes a hint of a possible category not mentioned by the grammarians. It is suggested that these shepherds used *tú* in their intercourse because they all stood upon an *equal* and *low* social plane, a category that will be found to embrace numerous cases in contemporary writers.

The ignorant vizcaino muleteer evidently intends *an insult* when he uses *tú* in speaking to Don Quijote,³³ as does also the angry innkeeper in addressing Sancho Panza.³⁴

Since it does not illustrate popular usage no account need be taken, further than to mention it, of Don Quijote's use of the pronouns when he is evidently moved by the spirit of the Romances of Chivalry. At such times he is archaic and poetical. Another special category includes the conversations with Moors, in which *tú* can be shown to have been the accepted pronoun of intercourse.

The most interesting problem arises in connection with the pronoun *vos*. If the *Don Quijote* is any fair standard, the statements of the grammarians are not only quite inadequate, but contradictory. *Vos*, acquiring a numerically singular force comparatively late in the history of the language, and reaching the climax of its usefulness by 1600, in Cervantes' time had scarcely begun to lose its various applications, on the one hand to the ancient *tú*, on the other to the nascent *Usted*. In *Don Quijote* it runs the whole gamut and carries, according to circumstance, every degree of respect or of disrespect. It is used by characters of every social rank and is addressed to every kind of individual. There follows a classification, in broad outline, of its uses:

With the exception of Don Quijote's employment of *tú* with Sancho Panza, persons of the rank of *servants* are addressed by their masters and by others with *vos*. Thus the Canon and Don Quijote address the shepherds;³⁵ Don Quijote uses it with the old shepherd;³⁶ and with the farmer who was beating his servant;³⁷ the

³³ I, 284.

³⁴ III, 97.

³⁵ I, 362-375; III, 438.

³⁶ II, 241.

³⁷ I, 162, 164, 166.

Cura uses it to Don Quijote's housekeeper,³⁸ to the barber,³⁹ to Sancho Panza,⁴⁰ to the daughter of the inn-keeper,⁴¹ and to the inn-keeper himself;⁴² the farmer uses it to time his blows upon Andrés;⁴³ Dorotea uses it with the daughter of the inn-keeper,⁴⁴ and with Sancho Panza;⁴⁵ the barber uses it to Sancho Panza,⁴⁶ and receives it with equal grace from Sancho Panza,⁴⁷ and from Don Fernando.⁴⁸

While servants are thus addressed by their superiors, they are also found using *vos* with each other, as in the passages between Sancho Panza and the wife of the inn-keeper.⁴⁹

The *domestic* use of *vos* is illustrated in Juana Panza's speech with Sancho, her husband.⁵⁰

Vos is likewise found to be used by those who are *comparative strangers*, but, to outward appearance, of equal or nearly equal respectability, as between Ambrosio and Vivaldo;⁵¹ from the Cura and the captive to Dorotea;⁵² from Dorotea and Luscinda to Cardenio;⁵³ from Dorotea to Luscinda;⁵⁴ from Don Fernando and the Cura to the captive;⁵⁵ and from the captive to his uncle.⁵⁶

The grammarians above cited have not mentioned the use of *vos* to show deference or respect to *dignitaries* of the lesser orders. But fully half of the occasions upon which it is used in *Don Quijote* may be thus classified, as all the *officials* and *clerics* are so addressed. Don Luis speaks in this way to the Justice,⁵⁷ and he to the Cura;⁵⁸ the Cura to the Justice⁵⁹ and to the other clergymen;⁶⁰ Don Quijote to all who wear the cloth,⁶¹ and even to the officer in charge of the criminals;⁶² Sancho Panza to the same officer;⁶³ and one of the *mozos* to the Cura.⁶⁴

³⁸ I, 210.

³⁹ I, 217, 231.

⁴⁰ II, 332, 339; III, 94.

⁴¹ II, 487.

⁴² II, 493, seq.

⁴³ I, 169, 172.

⁴⁴ II, 487.

⁴⁵ II, 456.

⁴⁶ III, 311, 333, 335, 339, 376.

⁴⁷ III, 313.

⁴⁸ III, 325.

⁴⁹ I, 469, 461.

⁵⁰ III, 471.

⁵¹ I, 402.

⁵² I, 380; III, 144, 166, 203.

⁵³ II, 409; III, 125.

⁵⁴ III, 116.

⁵⁵ III, 258, 265.

⁵⁶ III, 252.

⁵⁷ III, 309.

⁵⁸ III, 269.

⁵⁹ III, 271.

⁶⁰ III, 374.

⁶¹ II, 75; III, 465.

⁶² II, 13; III, 328.

⁶³ II, 14.

⁶⁴ III, 114.

Whether Don Quijote's armor and dignity marked him as belonging to an official or clerical order, or whether for more general reasons of respect, he is generally, though not invariably, addressed with *vos*; as, for example, among others, by the merchants from Toledo,⁶⁵ by the goatherds,⁶⁶ by Ambrosio,⁶⁷ by Cardenio,⁶⁸ by the Canon,⁶⁹ by travelling strangers,⁷⁰ and by Dorotea,⁷¹ the last often employing the term in consonance with the part that she was playing as a damsel in distress.

As in the case of *tú*, mention may be made of the fact that Don Quijote, when the spirit of chivalry was strong upon him, made use of *vos* after a romantic fashion, especially in addressing women⁷² and the inn-keeper, whom he believed to be the seneschal of a castle in which he is a guest.⁷³

Before proceeding to consider *vuestra merced*, it will be in order to examine those cases in which a speaker *changes* from *tú* to *vos* or from *vos* to *tú* in addressing any given person. That such a change is not merely fortuitous is shown by the fact that in two cases of such "mescolanza" explanation is offered by the speaker.⁷⁴ Compare also the quotation from Trueba at the head of this article.

The most remarkable of these changes are the five occasions when Don Quijote uses *vos* to Sancho Panza. When Sancho, with marks of deference, has asked for his island, the knight replies (in the second plural): "Advertid, hermano Sancho, que esta aventura y las a esta semejantes no son aventuras de ínsulas, sino de encrucijadas. . . . Tened paciencia; que aventuras se ofrecerán donde no solamente *os* pueda hacer gobernador, sino más adelante."⁷⁵ And again, after correcting Sancho for disrespect, he adds as a balm for his servant's sore shoulders, "De cualquiera manera que yo me enoje con *vos*, ha de ser mal para el cántaro. Las mercedes y beneficios que yo *os* he prometido llegarán a su tiempo; y si no llegaren, el salario, a lo menos, no se ha de perder, como ya *os* he dicho."⁷⁶

Here the *chivalric* tone is evident, but it is not apparent why it

⁶⁵ I, 177.

⁶⁶ I, 367-375.

⁶⁷ I, 419.

⁶⁸ II, 251 seq.

⁶⁹ III, 373.

⁷⁰ III, 293.

⁷¹ II, 420; III, 346.

⁷² I, 117, 283, 462, 471; III, 288-291, 307, 369.

⁷³ I, 330; II, 19.

⁷⁴ III 127, 347.

⁷⁵ I, 314.

⁷⁶ II, 136.

should call for a second plural in these two places and not elsewhere in the addresses to Sancho Panza. A very different note sounds—one of *indignation* over Sancho's ridicule, accompanied by a beating with the knight's lance and by epithets—where, speaking of his own ignorance of fullers' mills, he says, “Y más, que podría ser, como es verdad, que no los he visto en mi vida, como *vos* los habréis visto, como villano ruin que sois, criado y nacido entre ellos.”⁷⁷

Don Quijote's *extreme anger* is again evident in his words to Sancho Panza in two other passages in which he addresses him with *vos*.⁷⁸ But if his temper can be held accountable for the knight's choice of pronoun in these instances, why does he not use *vos* upon *every* occasion when anger is expressed? It certainly is not so used.

Another interesting change of pronouns is that when Dorotea upon first awakening to hear a serenade addresses the young girl, Clara, with the *tú* of endearment that would be used with a child. But when Clara gives evidence of a passion that only one of more mature years should feel Dorotea immediately receives her upon the same plane as herself and addresses her with *vos*.⁷⁹

Cardenio, also, after having used *tú* with Dorotea as with a rustic of his own class, changes to *vos*, both he and Dorotea resuming their true social status and their appropriate relation after she has told her story.⁸⁰

The author himself makes Fernando explain his use of *tú* with Dorotea as due to “*confusión y espanto*,”⁸¹ an explanation that is supported by the fact that upon recovering his self-possession Fernando uses the *vos* that we should expect between characters of their social rank.

Don Quijote's accustomed use of *tú* in apostrophizing Dulcinea is varied in two places⁸² where he uses *vos*. But in both of these instances it will be noted that he calls upon her for such help as only a supernatural personage could be expected to render. It will there-

⁷⁷ II, 133.

⁷⁸ II, 143, 452.

⁷⁹ III, 277, 278.

⁸⁰ II, 409.

⁸¹ III, 127.

⁸² I, 144, 289.

fore be allowable to regard these as examples of *prayer*, where *vos* will be heard even today.

In fewer cases a speaker changes from *vos* to *tú*. Such are the following:

The goatherd, after having scolded his runaway goat with *vos*,⁸³ changes to the *tú*⁸⁴ that is the normal term of address to an animal as well as to a child. The man himself explains by expressing the hope that the company will not think him lacking in knowledge of how animals should be addressed because he, *under irritation*, has spoken to his beast as he would to a human being.

Don Quijote's change of address to this same goatherd⁸⁵ from *vos*, when he first resents the goatherd's slurs, to *tú* when he becomes convinced that the goatherd is an incarnate demon, illustrates again the overlapping of these two pronouns; for if *vos* is a usual term of address to the *Saints* and to *Deity*, it is also quite true that *tú* was properly used then, as now, in addressing not only these, but any other, supernatural beings.

A feeling of *amusement mingled with sarcasm* will perhaps account for two instances of "mescolanza": Sancho Panza, who usually uses *vos* with his wife, in one place resorts to *tú* where he says, "No *te* acucies, Juana, por saber todo esto tan apriesa. . . . No es la miel para la boca del asno; a su tiempo lo verás, mujer."⁸⁶ And in the single instance in which Don Quijote uses the second singular after having used the second plural with the criminals, saying to the boastful Ginés de Pasamonte, "Hábil pareces,"⁸⁷ a distinct note of scornful amusement is perceptible.

Before leaving this subject of changes, it may be noted that while Don Quijote, in every instance except the five above cited, speaks to Sancho with *tú* or in the second singular, the farmer uniformly uses *vos* in berating Andrés; and all others of the *servant class*, as in the cases mentioned above, are addressed by their own masters and by others with *vos*. May not the explanation of this be found in the intimacy and affection with which the knight treated

⁸³ III, 347.

⁸⁴ III, 441.

⁸⁵ III, 463.

⁸⁶ III, 473.

⁸⁷ II, 209.

his squire, as plainly at least as in the width of the social gulf that lay between them?

If the inference is just that perturbed mental states, and especially those involving anger, affection, scorn or amusement in some degree help to determine which of these pronouns shall be used, then every case of change in *Don Quijote, Part I.*, shall have been accounted for. But if, as might be inferred from the scant notices of the grammarians, only the matters of relative rank, and a possible intention to offer an affront, are determining standards, then a large proportion, not only of *changes* from one pronoun to the other, but many of the cases where either one or the other of the pronouns seems to be regularly or abnormally employed, remain unaccounted for.

There are no well defined instances of the use of *él* as a pronoun of address in *Don Quijote*. There are very many cases in which the third singular of the verb is used without any pronoun, sometimes, indeed, after *vuestra merced* has been used, but at other times when even that pronoun is wanting. There is room for a difference of opinion whether the missing pronouns, if they were supplied, should be *él* or *vuestra merced*; but the entire absence from *Don Quijote* of a single clear-cut *él*, used as a term of address, and the frequent appearance of *vuestra merced*, constitute presumptive evidence in favor of the latter in cases where there might be doubt as to which one was intended.

Vuestra merced is used in *Don Quijote* where *deference and honor* would be implied, more than half of such occasions, as might be expected, being of address to the knight himself. Others who receive this mark of respect are Cardenio, the Cura, the Canon, the Licenciado, the Oidor, Don Luis, the captive, and, a few times, the assembled company as an audience.

There are a few instances of change from *vos* to *vuestra merced*, and vice versa, but they lack the strongly marked reasons alleged for the changes between *tú* and *vos*. This may be accounted for on two grounds: First, that *vuestra merced* could be suitably used only in addressing a comparatively limited class of persons; and secondly, that *vuestra merced* was a comparatively new term of address (Valdés, 1533, barely mentions it once); was not often enough in the

mouth of the mass of the people to acquire popular currency (Cf. Correas on *él*, quoted above), and had not more than begun the encroachment on the field of *vos* that was later to result in the virtual extinction of the more popular term.

If a general conclusion is warrantable from the study of a single work of a single author, the conclusion in this case would be that the pronoun *vos* had a much more varied application and a much more frequent use in the time of Cervantes than the statements of contemporary grammarians and later authorities would lead us to believe. It seems to have been, like the modern English *you*, the ordinary term of address among all classes of people, and except under unusual circumstances, universally acceptable.

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR SLOAN

BUCKNELL UNIVERSITY.

MISCELLANEOUS

TWO STRINGS TO ONE'S BOW

THE *Roman de Fauvel*, published by the *Société des anciens textes français*, dated 1914-19, shows an Old French form of the proverb in the lines devoted to *Ypocrisie*, which are in the second book of the poem, finished in 1314, as we are informed at the end of that book. Verse 1586 is the one in question. It runs: "Moult a cordes en son archon." Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des proverbes français*, vol. II., p. 69, gives for the sixteenth century "Avoir deux cordes à son arc"; and another sixteenth-century form is cited in Godefroy's *Complément*, s. v. *corde*, from François d'Amboise, *Les Neapolitaines*. As the lines that there precede are of some interest I quote them also: "On ne doit jamais arrester son navire à une seule ancre; une bonne souris a tousjours plus d'un trou à se retirer; il n'est pas bon archer qui n'a plus d'une corde à son arc" (in Edouard Fournier, *Le Théâtre français au XVI^e et au XVII^e siècle*).

But earlier instances of the proverb than the sixteenth century occur in Littré's *Historique*, under *corde*. He has two Old French passages for it, one from Froissart, which is given as reading, "et ainsi nous aurons deux cordes à un arc," with a reference to Froissart, II., III., 79. This means vol. II., bk. III., chap. 79, in Buchon's edition. In that of Kervyn de Lettenhove, vol. XII., p. 283, it runs thus: "et ainsi nous aurons deux cordes à nostre arc." The other example is the earliest that has as yet been found, so far as I know. I quote as follows: "Feme sait moult de renart; Deux cordes a en son arc, *Ms. de poésies fr. avant 1300*, t. II., p. 723, dans LACURNE." Just where in Lacurne was this found? Not under either *arc* or *corde* in the dictionary as printed. Under *renart* (with final *t*), however, we find the line "Feme set moult de renart," with a reference to "Poët. av. 1300, II., p. 723." It seems that for Littré's dictionary the quotation was verified and the second line was copied as well as the first, for in Littré, s. v. *renard*, in the *Historique*, we find again both lines (with *set* this time, not *sait*, in

the first), with a reference to "*Mss. de poés. franç. avant 1300*, t. II., p. 723," but without mention of Lacurne.

At the end of the last volume of the latter's dictionary we observe among the "Manuscripts et copies conservés à la Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal" the entry (p. 27): "120 A. Recueil des poètes français avant 1300 (3303 à 3306)," the numbers in the parenthesis being the new numbers. These manuscripts are copies made from older manuscripts which are themselves preserved; see Jeanroy, *Bibliographie sommaire des chansonniers français* (no. 18 of *Les Classiques français du moyen âge*), p. 17, or Schwan, *Die altfranzösischen Liederhandschriften*, p. 4, note 4; and all these older manuscripts belong to the thirteenth century. The French proverb is therefore at least as old as that century, and it would seem that the earliest French form had *en* as the preposition and not as now *à*; but in view of the small number of early occurrences of the proverb this last is doubtful.

Prof. Charles H. Livingston, at the time in Paris, has kindly given me full information about the piece and the older manuscripts that contain it. He sent me (from the one copied in Arsenal 3304) the whole with variants for the stanza containing the proverb. But as I have also received, since his letter, the publication by Jeanroy and Långfors of *Chansons satiriques et bachiques*, Paris, 1921 (in *Les Classiques français du moyen âge*), in which the poem (by Gobin de Reims) is no. XXXI., I may simply refer to that volume, only adding that the lines given by Littré under *renard* are correctly quoted.

Littré mentions, *s. v. corde*, three modern French forms of the proverb showing respectively *plus d'une corde*, *plusieurs cordes*, and *deux cordes*. The *Dictionnaire général*, *s. v. arc*, mentions only *plus d'une corde*, and *s. v. corde* only *plusieurs cordes*. Accordingly it may appear that *deux cordes*, which we noticed in the thirteenth, fourteenth (Froissart), and sixteenth centuries (it occurs also in the fifteenth; see below), is not much used nowadays, and this is confirmed by my colleague, Professor Allard, who tells me that the usual form is *plus d'une corde*, which we observed also in the sixteenth century.

In English the oldest quotation for the proverb to be found in the Oxford dictionary (or the New English Dictionary = N. E. D.)

under *bow*, *sb.*¹, II., 4, c, is for the year 1562. It has "many stryngis," and the next example there shows "more strings . . . than one" (dated 1579). Under *string*, *sb.*, I., 4, b, are two earlier citations: the first, dated 1524, has "2 stringes"; the second, of 1546, shows "many stryngis," and that for 1877 gives "three strings," instead of the usual "two strings." Similarly, "to kill *three* birds with one stone" might be said if the occasion called for such intentional alteration of the proverbial "two." In all the quotations under both words in N. E. D. the preposition is *to*, except for one case of *in* (from R. Baillie, dated 1644), under *string*, where we find "the smallest string in his bow," and one, of the fifteenth century, not at once clear as being or alluding to the proverb, with *on*, which will lead us to two more of that fifteenth century. For under *cord* is quoted a passage from Caxton's *Jason*, which has: "saye no more that I take two cordes or strenges on my bowe"; and this seems to imply a previous use of the proverb.

Now, on examining the context in the publication of the *Jason* by the Early English Text Society (1913), we find (p. 57, leaf 44 of the edition copied; but N. E. D. refers to 42b) that "the auncient knight" says to Jason: "I wil that euery man be amerous & loue, but that he haue .ij. strenges on his bowe. . . . 'Sir' answerde than Iason . . . first as to the regarde for to haue /ij/ cordes or strenges on his bowe that is to vnderstande two ladyes," etc. And a few lines further (p. 58) comes the passage quoted in N. E. D. under *cord*. The *Jason* is translated from the French of Raoul Le Fèvre and the proverb is in the French original. I owe the quotations here given to Dr. Livingston, who kindly copied them from the first edition found in the Arsenal library, the copy of the first edition in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* being on exhibition at the time and accordingly not available. The words corresponding to the quotations I have made from Caxton's English are: "Je vueil tres bien que tout homme soit amoureux mais que len ait deux cordes a son arcq. . . . Sire respondy lors Jason. . . . Premierement quant au regard davoit deux cordes a son arcq Cest a entendre deux dames," etc.; and finally for the words quoted in N. E. D. (they are preceded in Caxton by "And for that cause") the French has: "Et pourtant ne men parlez plus que je prende deux cordes a mon arcq," etc. Prof.

Livingston has copied not only these words but a pretty long passage containing them from folios 37 and 38. It will be noticed that the explanatory clause with "two ladyes" is not an addition made by Caxton, and also that the French preposition corresponding to Caxton's "on" is *a*, not *en*. Indeed none of my French examples show the preposition *en* after the year 1314.

If the English proverb was taken from the French its now usual form would seem to be due to the French with *à*. A Scotch form with *in* (or the English *on*) might have come from the French with *en* if that preposition was in use in the French form at the time of the borrowing, or it might have been independent of the French use. In any case a somewhat remarkable parallelism may be noticed. Just as the earliest French examples have *en* and later we find *à*, so the earliest English cases thus far found have *on*, while later *to* appears. Also besides the number *two* we observe *many* and *more than one* in English, like *plusieurs* and *plus d'une* in French. But this parallelism is not necessarily of any significance. If only in view of the reputation of English archers in the Middle Ages it is by no means certain, in spite of the much earlier recorded use of the proverb in French than in English, that the latter language took it from the former. In this connection may be noticed the passage quoted in Lacurne from Gaston Phebus (*s. v. arc*, p. 122). It is in part as follows: "Des arcs ne sçay je pas trop: mais qui plus en voudra sçavoir, si aille en Angleterre; c'est leur droit mestier."

E. S. SHELDON

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

UNA TRADUCCIÓN DE LOPE DE VEGA HECHA POR SOUTHEY

YA en otra ocasión me he referido (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIV, págs. 329-36) a las copias de las traducciones debidas al autor de *Roderick*, de dos *romances*, las cuales habían sido enviadas a Ticknor por una señora inglesa muy entusiasta de la literatura española, amiga de Blanco White y traductora de Rodrigo de Cota, Mrs. Rose Lawrence (*Revista de Filología Española*, VII, págs. 372-74). Dichas copias pueden ahora leerse en un volumen sin

foliación de la Sección de Manuscritos (D. Mss. 33) de la rica biblioteca legada por el famoso Profesor de Harvard a la *Boston Public Library*. Junto a ellas se halla una versión inglesa de la canción de cuna de *Los Pastores de Belén*, de Lope (*Obras sueltas*, XVI, pág. 332; *Bib. Aut. Esps.*, XXXVIII, pág. 281), que tiene la misma procedencia.

Southey publicó en la *Quarterly Review*, XVIII, págs. 1-46, una revista del libro de Lord Holland, *Some Account of the Lives and Writings of Lope Felix de Vega Carpio and Guillen de Castro*, London, 1817, y en una carta a C. W. Williams Wynn, fechada en Keswick, 20 Nov. 1817, habla de su recensión en estos términos: "I have composed a paper for the 'Quarterly,' upon Lopez [sic] de Vega, with some translations, and a good deal of curious matter, though perhaps it may have cost me more time than it is worth. This, however, goes to Mammon's account" (*Selections from the Letters of Robert Southey*, London, 1856, III, pág. 78). Entre las traducciones que aparecen en la *Quarterly* no se encuentra la composición que aquí presento, la cual creo que está inédita.

Puede ser curioso señalar, como prueba del interés de Southey en Lope, las frases humorísticas que se encuentran en una carta a Chauncey Hare Townshend, del 31 Oct. 1817:

"The Roman Catholics, when they write concerning Heaven, arrange the different classes there with as much precision as a master of ceremonies could do. Their martyrs, their doctors, their confessors, their monks and their virgins, have each their separate society. As for us poets, they have not condescended to think of us; but we shall find one another out, and a great many questions I shall have to ask of Spenser and of Chaucer. Indeed, I half hope to get the whole story of Cambuscan bold; and to hear the lost books of the Faëry Queen. Lope de Vega and I shall not meet with equal interest, and yet it will be a pleasant meeting" (*The Life and Correspondence of Robert Southey*, New York, 1855, pág. 359).¹

Entiendo igualmente digna de mención la nota publicada por su yerno, John Wood Warter, en la compilación *Southey's Common-Place Book*, en que, refiriéndose a los versos de *La Gatomachia*,

¹ De Lope de Vega ya se había ocupado Southey anteriormente. V. sus *Letters Written during a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*, Bristol, 1797, págs. 119s. y 131s. Debo la busca de esta nota a la exquisita amabilidad de mi amigo el Dr. Homero Serís.

¿y quereis que le mate con veneno?
 Essa es muerte de Principes y Reyes,
 con quien no valen las humanas leyes,

(*Obras sueltas*, XIX, pág. 205), apunta "There is an odd passage, as if he had read the *De Rege* of Mariana" (*Second Series*, London, 1849, pág. 213). En efecto, parecen estos versos recordar la famosa cuestión *Si es lícito envenenar a un tirano*, tratada por el famoso jesuita en su *De Rege et regis institutione* (Cap. VII, *Bib. Aut. Esp.*, XXXI, págs. 483-85), lo cual, por otro lado, no es extraño, teniendo en cuenta que Lope dirige al Padre Juan de Mariana el prólogo de su *Triumpho de la Fe en los Reynos del Japon* y le califica de "Tito Livio Christiano, luz de la Historia de España" (*Obras sueltas*, XVII, pág. 100). Puede indicarse como un dato más que muestra la enorme catolicidad de lectura del Fénix de los ingenios, punto ya señalado, verbigracia, por Schevill, *The Dramatic Art of Lope de Vega*, Berkeley, 1918, págs. 67-73, y por Castro en el *Apéndice B* de la *Vida de Lope de Vega*, por Rennert y Castro, Madrid, 1919, págs. 424-27.

Dos palabras acerca del poemita que nos ocupa. Castro dice, hablando de *Los Pastores de Belén*, que "Ticknor . . . supo . . . discernir la más linda poesía entre las numerosas que encierra el volumen" y analizando dicha obra afirma con gran justeza: "Sobre este conjunto bastante abigarrado, se destacan tres notas literarias de valor esencial" una de las cuales es "la emoción ingenua y candorosa que Lope, con blandura de niño, sabía proyectar en forma tan exquisita" (*loco citato*, pág. 207) y como palmario ejemplo pone la canción a que estamos aludiendo.

La versión de Southey, que más que una traducción es un *rifa-cimiento*, pierde bastante de la simplicidad y delicadeza de tono, mucho del ritmo ingenuo, popular y expresivo, que admiramos en el original, el cual tiene el encanto de una flor silvestre. Sin embargo, bien merece ver la luz. Héla aquí:

THE MADONNA'S LULLABY

Sung in the Palm Groves of Bethlehem

Where radiant angels o'er him

Their hovering vigils keep,

Lulled amid flowers and fragrance

My Babe is hushed to sleep.

Ye wind-swept Palms of Bethlehem
 Your tossing boughs restrain;
 His tender-breathing slumber
 May no rude storms prophane!

Calm o'er the Heavenly infant
 May noiseless zephyrs sweep,
 No sound disturb the silence
 That lulls my Babe to sleep.

Ye angels aid his mother
 The palmy boughs to bend,
 That o'er his noon-tide cradle
 Their arching shade extend.

Ye storm-vexed winds! Ye waters,
 A holy silence keep!
 The Heavenly infant slumbers,
 My babe is hushed to sleep.

From transient tears and sorrow
 A short reprieve he knows;
 No dream may earth's cares borrow
 To chase his blest repose.

Screened by his watching mother
 His infant troubles cease,
 And balms from Heaven descending
 Breathe round the Prince of Peace.

Ye wind-swept Palms of Bethlehem
 A silent Sabbath keep!
 The Heavenly infant slumbers,
 My babe has sunk to sleep.

R. S.²

En la *History of Spanish Literature* Ticknor publicó otra versión, la cual si bien es más fiel al espíritu y letra del original, es desde el punto de vista poético, bastante inferior a ésta.

ERASMO BUCETA

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.

² Debo la copia a mi querido amigo y colega Mr. Régis Michaud, a quien me complazco en reiterar mi agradecimiento.

LOPE DE VEGA AND "UN DRAMA NUEVO"

TAMAYO Y BAUS blazons on every page of *Un Drama Nuevo* the fact of its Shakespearian inspiration. Shakespeare himself appears upon the scene as guide, philosopher and friend to the three unfortunate principals (Yorick, Edmundo and Alicia),—as a wise and noble character indeed who, if it had not been for a succession of terrible accidents, would have thwarted the jealous intrigue of Walton, and have left Yorick ignorant and happy. The name of the protagonist is to be found in *Hamlet*—although just why Tamayo attached the name of a Danish jester of the ninth century to a character who was certainly inspired by one or both of Shakespeare's comedian-colleagues Tarlton or Kemp, is not quite clear; the play takes its text from Hamlet's comment on the marvelous feigning of a professional actor (*Hamlet*, Act II., scene 2, ll. 574 ff.):

What would he do,
Had he the motive and the cue for passion
That I have?

There are various passages which are clearly Shakespearian reminiscence, and it is not quite true, as M. Boris de Tannenberg says in his little volume, *Un Dramaturge Espagnol, M. Tamayo y Baus* (p. 59), that there is "nulle prétention à la vérité historique." Tamayo had unquestionably made a careful study of Shakespeare's life and work; and when, for example, having dated his play 1605, he makes Yorick say (p. 174 of the Pidal y Mon edition), "Dígate que hiciste muy bien en deponer el cetro de actor, quedándote nada más con el del poeta," he no doubt is aware that Shakespeare is believed to have given up acting shortly after the death of Elizabeth in March 1603.

I have found a considerable list of such careful accordances with the facts of history, and only two clear discrepancies. One of the latter is Walton's assertion that he has played in *Macbeth*, whereas that tragedy is known to have been completed at a later date than 1605, and the other is the appearance of a woman as a professional actor, which could not have happened till after the

Restoration. But the former is an unimportant slip, and the latter bit of freedom is perfectly justifiable, since without it the play could scarcely have been. *Un Drama Nuevo* is not simply a glorification of the actor-manager Shakespeare, but is built very largely on the work of the playwright Shakespeare.

But Tamayo was a man of reading, and he has made a wide study of other examples of the "play within a play." He no doubt knew that inspirer of *Hamlet* and *Titus Andronicus*, Thomas Kyd, author of the *Spanish Tragedy*, staged in 1592. In Kyd's play an actor revenges himself on a colleague for a long-past injury by making a reality of a murder-scene and stabbing him to the heart. This is so exactly what happens in *Un Drama Nuevo*—although there is no striking similarity in the general plots of the two plays—that some degree of influence seems extremely likely.

Scholars have noticed the similarity between Kyd's dénouement and Tamayo's, and they have also called attention to that between the merging of a counterfeited passion into a real one in Yorick's last stage appearance, and the experience of the Roman actor Saint Genest in Rotrou's play of that name. Saint Genest is playing the part of a Christian martyr before Diocletian, when Divine Grace suddenly turns the confession of faith which he is mouthing, into a passionate expression of his own instantaneous conversion. Thus Menéndez y Pelayo, in his *Observaciones Preliminares* to Volume Four of the Real Academia edition of the Works of Lope de Vega, remarks, in a note appended to a mention of Rotrou's *Saint Genest* (p. xlix): "Lo mismo acontece en *Un drama nuevo*, joya incomparable de nuestro arte moderno." But although this mention of Rotrou is a part of a discussion of Lope de Vega's *Lo Fingido Verdadero*, a religious play of which *Saint Genest* is an imitation, Menéndez y Pelayo does not notice, or at any rate does not see fit to mention, the curious fact that the plot of *Un Drama Nuevo*, much as it certainly owes to *Hamlet*, much as it probably owes to *The Spanish Tragedy* and *Saint Genest*, seems to have taken from Lope de Vega's *Lo Fingido Verdadero* certain elements which are to be found in neither of the others.

The sober French classicist Rotrou could of course be trusted not to imitate the lavish and irregular profusion of his Spanish original. Lope is so pleased with the "play within a play" device that he

employs it twice in this one piece. In addition to the Christian play before Diocletian in the latter part of his tragedy, the brilliant *mimus* Ginés has appeared before the Emperor a short time before with another play, in which has occurred the same merging of fiction into reality. In this piece, which is the work of Ginés himself, a suitor applies to a Roman father for his daughter's hand, and the father listens favorably to the request only to learn that the maiden's heart belongs to another. Ginés, who, like Shakespeare and Molière, is a prosperous author-manager-actor, takes the part of the unsuccessful suitor and gives the girl's rôle to the actress Marcela, and that of the favored rival to his young employé Octavio. It transpires that Marcela and Octavio are secretly in love with each other, so that their relation is substantially that of Alicia and Edmundo. This situation of course comes to something very different and much less serious in Lope's hands than when treated in the scrupulous and brooding nineteenth century. Lope's cheerful pair finally run off and put to sea, as Tamayo's pair thought of doing; they are caught and brought back, but Ginés forgives them, and evidently, in the excitement of staging another play for the Emperor, recovers very nicely from his troublesome little affection of the heart. But here is the same plot, even to certain curious details. Ginés is in a position where he can make use of his prestige and his prosperity to win the girl's hand. Pinabelo advises him (p. 59):

Pues pídale por mujer
A su padre; que mejor
La dará a su mismo autor
Que a un hombre que vino ayer.

Similarly, Alicia confesses to Shakespeare in *Un Drama Nuevo* (p. 205):

"Cayó mi madre muy enferma; carecíamos de recursos; Yorick apareció a nuestros ojos como enviado de la Misericordia infinita. . . . Alicia, me dijo un día mi madre; vas a quedarte abandonada; cástate con Yorick. . . ."

And again, Ginés explains to the Emperor that the marriage of the lovers has ended his trouble (p. 69):

GINÉS
Recíbilos,
Casélos y perdonélos.

DIOCLECIANO

Pues ¿no te da el verlos celos?

GINÉS

Notables; pero perdílos

Con ver que ya es su mujer,

which is just the reasoning of Edmundo and Alicia (p. 206):

ALICIA

En casándome con Yorick se acabó el amor que ese hombre me inspira.

EDMUNDO

Se acabó el amor que siento por esa mujer al punto mismo en que Yorick se enlace con ella.

But, alas! Ginés' specific (or Lope's) did not cure Alicia and Edmundo. Men and women are not so good at forgetting as they used to be.

Menéndez y Pelayo says of this love-scene thrust into Lope's story of a saint's martyrdom (p. xlix f.):

"No hay que advertir que las coqueterías de la comediente Marcela con los galanes que la asedian, todas esas escenas propias del *Roman Comique* (según las califica Sainte Beuve), . . . son invención de Lope de Vega, que además se vale de ella para complicar el enredo con los amores de Ginés y Marcela, en lo cual Rotrou no le ha seguido, por no dar demasiado carácter cómico a su pieza infringiendo los severos cánones de la dramaturgia francesa, aunque en otras cosas se muestra bastante laxo y propenso a la libertad romántica.

"Este embrollo de amor y celos, representado por Ginés y Marcela a un tiempo en la realidad y en la escena, llena todo el segundo acto de Lope, que es de muy ingeniosa contextura, pero que tiene el gravísimo defecto de pertenecer enteramente a la comedia profana, y de no preparar de ningún modo el ánimo a las impresiones solemnes y trágicas de la conversión y martirio de Ginés. . . ."

But even if all this be true and more, we can forgive Lope de Vega for spoiling his own play, in view of the part he seems to have played in preparing the way for Tamayo's.

ROY TEMPLE HOUSE

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA,
NORMAN, OKLAHOMA.

REVIEWS

Manual de Pronunciación Española. By T. Navarro Tomás. Publicaciones de la *Revista de Filología Española*, Madrid, 1918.

The author of this welcome volume is a pupil of Menéndez Pidal and one whom the master has put through a broad and thorough training in general phonetics before entering into the study of his native speech. He has been devoting his attention to Spanish phonetic studies for some ten years, making use of all the available methods and devices for obtaining accurate and scientific data, and is now director of the Laboratory of Experimental Phonetics of the Centro de Estudios Históricos of Madrid. The first results of his investigations are to be found in a brief article published in *Revista de Filología Española*, vol. III, *Siete vocales españolas*; an accurate, scientific account of the experiments carried on by Dr. Panconcelli-Calzia and our author at the Hamburgische Kolonial Institut in 1914 relative to Mr. Navarro's own pronunciation of certain Spanish accented vowels.

Manual de Pronunciación Española is an attempt to write a brief manual of Spanish pronunciation as spoken today by the educated people of Old and New Castile. It may not be amiss to state here that in Spanish, as indeed in all languages, there exist differences in pronunciation not only in the different localities where Spanish is spoken but even in the same locality. Standard Spanish as Mr. Navarro defines it is fundamentally Castilian and is the correct Spanish spoken by the educated classes of Old and New Castile with Madrid as its official and cultural center. The language of Castile (Mr. Navarro means Old Castile) is the basis, but the dialectal characteristics of modern Castilian as spoken in the villages and cities of Old Castile are not to be considered. For these reasons and also for many others stated by Mr. Navarro in an article recently published¹ it is perhaps not proper to speak of standard modern Spanish pronunciation as Castilian. The proper name is Spanish, and it is undoubtedly for this reason that Mr. Navarro has called his book *Manual de Pronunciación Española* rather than *Castellana*.

Hispanists are well acquainted with the various studies on Spanish phonetics published previous to the appearance of Mr. Navarro's book. This is not the place for even a brief characterization of those studies already reviewed by others. For the benefit of those who may not have a first hand knowledge of the books in question, however, it is necessary to state that before the publication of Mr. Navarro's book no satisfactory account of Spanish phonetics had been published. The work of Araujo, *Estudios de Fonética Castellana*, Toledo, etc., 1894, a revised form of his *Recherches sur la Phonétique Espagnole*, published before in *Phonetische Studien*, is a pioneer work full of exact and valuable information in spite of its many errors. In the study of the Spanish consonants the two works that follow it merely repeat and

¹ *Concepto de Pronunciación Correcta in Hispania* for October, 1921. See also *Manual*, §§ 2-5.

amplify. The rules which he formulated for the correct pronunciation of the Spanish consonants *b*, *v* and *d* are in the main exact. The work of Araujo is of great value and at the time of its publication it helped to dispel the legend that Spanish vowels were only five in number and of a uniform variety. The work of Josselyn, *Études de Phonétique Espagnole*, Paris, 1907, is an important and most interesting book of research that stresses the individual and circumstantial differences in pronunciation. Mr. Colton's book, *La Phonétique Castellane*, Paris, 1909, is a more pretentious work and at the time of its appearance it was received with some interest on account of his theory about metaphony in Spanish vowels, but more recent studies seem to show that this theory has not sufficient basis in fact to be of any practical value for Spanish phonetics.

Mr. Navarro's work does not pretend to be a complete treatise on Spanish pronunciation. He is no doubt collecting the materials for such a study, but in the present work he has merely aspired to publish a brief manual for native and foreign teachers. It should be stated at the outset that the author has succeeded admirably in his purpose. Teachers of Spanish now have a practical manual of Spanish phonetics that may be said to be authoritative, at least in the sense in which scholars may be properly allowed to employ this word. For the American teacher of Spanish Mr. Navarro has done a service that is of inestimable value, and the native teachers of Spain should certainly be very grateful to the author for furnishing them a practical and most useful manual of standard Spanish pronunciation.

Manual de Pronunciación Española consists of a brief introduction followed by eight chapters: Nociones de fonética general, Pronunciación de las vocales, Pronunciación de las consonantes, Los sonidos agrupados, Intensidad, Cantidad, Entonación, Textos fonéticos. All these chapters fairly bristle with exact information briefly, clearly and methodically presented. The work is, of course, a manual for teachers and presupposes a general elementary knowledge of phonetics for a proper appreciation. In view of the fact, however, that general phonetics is a subject little known by most teachers anywhere the reviewer is of the opinion that more elementary observations and phonetic definitions might have well been included in various parts of the volume.

In the following remarks we point out the salient features of this manual of Spanish pronunciation and beg to call attention to a few slight infelicities of detail which appear in the first edition.

The vowels, pages 31-54. The exact pronunciation of each vowel is given in detail both with respect to the manner and place of articulation, with illustrative diagrams, showing the exact tongue positions, etc. Exact rules are then given for the correct pronunciation of the various vowels in closed and open syllables, etc. The finding of a clearly open quality for the vowels *i* and *u* in most closed syllables is new. To the American student the open quality of *i* and *u* will present some difficulties. They are not so open as the English *i* and *u* of *him* and *put* respectively, and only the teacher who knows the exact difference between the Spanish closed and open vowels *i* and *u* can attempt to teach them. The reviewer has observed that very few American teachers of Spanish have a good Spanish pronunciation. They make the Spanish open vowels too open and the Spanish closed vowels too closed. An example of

the fine and accurate manner of stating facts in a scientific yet simple way is to be found in Mr. Navarro's description of the semivocalic and semi-consonantal *i*, *j*. The semivowel *i* begins in an open position and ends in a closed position whereas the semiconsonant *j* involves a reversed process. The rules for the pronunciation of the vowels need some slight modifications. Any vowel before *x* (*g* or *j*) or when in contact with multiple vibrant *r* is open. This applies to §§ 46, 53, 62. In § 52 it should be stated that closed *e* occurs also before a nasal (therefore before *m* as well as *n*) in closed syllables.

The consonants, pages 55-114. The consonants are classified according to the place of articulation. Diagrams illustrate the positions of the organs as in the case of the vowels, and as in the case of the vowels comparisons are made with the pronunciation of similar English, German and French sounds. The exact description of the pronunciation of the voiced explosives *b*, *d*, *g*, §§ 81, 101, 128, in their relation to the voiced fricatives *b*, *d*, *g*, §§ 82, 102, 129, leaves little to be desired. The exact pronunciation of these consonants as either explosives or fricatives is one of the chief characteristics of a good Spanish pronunciation and one that is seldom acquired by foreigners. Although most of our American teachers of Spanish pronounce the *d* of Spanish *padre*, *todo*, *me da*, etc., as an explosive instead of a fricative they are guilty of a gross error similar to that of our German visitors who pronounce *dis*, *dat* and *de oder* instead of *this*, *that* and *the other*. In §§ 108, 109 Mr. Navarro gives us an admirable description of the pronunciation of Spanish *s*, which is alveolar and not dental as in English. This alveolar *s*, however, is peculiar to Castile. The reviewer expresses some skepticism about the complete palatalization of *n* into *ñ* and of *l* into *ll* when before a palatal in such words as *concha* = *kon̄ča*, *el chico* = *eĭ ĉiko*, §§ 124, 125. The author himself qualifies the second case stating that it happens only in rapid speech. In § 125 Mr. Navarro treats of palatal *ll*, a sound peculiar to Old Castile and which the educated people of New Castile find difficult to pronounce. In Madrid the palatal *ll* is having a hard struggle to exist. Most of the people of Madrid and of New Castile generally pronounce it as fricative *y* of § 122, and to the reviewer it seems improbable that this peculiarly Old Castilian sound will persist in standard Spanish pronunciation in the future. A separate and fairly complete section on silent consonants would have been very welcome. See, however, §§ 80, 85, 104, 134, etc.

In the chapter *Sonidos agrupados*, pages 115-136, are treated such important problems as consonantal changes due to assimilation and dissimilation, synalepha, etc. The problem of synalepha is so perplexing to foreigners that it is perhaps the greatest difficulty in the understanding of spoken Spanish. An exact phonetic transcription of the vowel groups resulting from the application of synalepha would have been greatly appreciated by American teachers. Only the native teacher can profit fully from the rules for synalepha as stated in §§ 136-145. Pages 137-159 treat of accent and quantity presenting many new and valuable facts which every teacher of Spanish should study with the greatest care. Pages 161-188 treat in a masterly manner of intonation, a chapter that constitutes by itself a valuable piece of phonetic research. The book closes with a chapter of Spanish texts with phonetic transcriptions of great value to teachers and students.

While the above remarks do not give a complete account of the contents of this valuable study they may suffice to give the reader a general idea of its character and importance. We might conclude by saying that Mr. Navarro's book is absolutely the best and most authoritative study thus far published on Spanish pronunciation as spoken today in Old and New Castile. The value of the work for Spanish phonetic studies is inestimable. It is the work of a brilliant young scholar who knows his subject thoroughly and who has fortunately been able to present his investigations in a simple, clear and scientific manner. *Manual de Pronunciación Española* is a work that is epoch-making in the history of Spanish phonetic science. The ground-work is now definitely done and all future investigations on Spanish phonetics will have to begin with this work as a basis. Mr. Navarro Tomás may be justly proud of his Manual and we congratulate him on having written it. The work is also a great honor to don Ramón Menéndez Pidal, the leader and master who directs the Centro de Estudios Históricos and the group of brilliant investigators who belong to his school.

As this is going to press I have received from my distinguished colleague the second edition of his work, Madrid, 1921, with some additions and corrections. The rules governing open and closed vowels remain unchanged. In § 124 the change of *n* into *ñ* before a palatal is qualified with the statement that it does not have the explosive character of initial *ñ*.

AURELIO M. ESPINOSA

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Le Opere di Dante: Testo Critico della Società Dantesca Italiana. A cura di M. Barbi, E. G. Parodi, F. Pellegrini, E. Pistelli, P. Rajna, E. Rostagno, G. Vandelli. Con indice analitico dei nomi e delle cose di Mario Casella, e tre tavole fuor di testo. Firenze, R. Bemporad e Figlio, MCM XXI.

Here at last, we have a one-volume edition of Dante produced in Italy and representing the ripest fruit of Italian scholarship. More specifically, it offers the concrete result of the labors of the Società Dantesca Italiana in preparation for the great national edition which was to commemorate this year of the poet's sixth centenary, but which the outbreak of the Great War inevitably postponed. The present edition, that is, gives us, without apparatus or notes, the text which, the Society believes, best shows the original form of Dante's work, so far as we can now recover it. The names of the editors are a sufficient guarantee that no pains have been spared to gain that end. Each one is responsible for a particular work; and their contributions have been coördinated by Dr. Michele Barbi, who also writes a compact and lucid introduction, explaining the aim of the whole, and setting forth some noteworthy points about the textual basis of each portion. A more elaborate edition, when circumstances permit its issue, will contain the illustrative and justifying evidence for the readings here presented. In the absence of such critical apparatus, it is not desirable, especially in a brief review like the present, to discuss matters of detail or controversy. I shall therefore content myself with a comparison of the new volume with its two chief predecessors, the Oxford Dante and the Della Torre edition (issued in 1919 and reviewed here in that year), noting some general differences, and

commenting in particular on the sections which show the most considerable modifications.

Externally, the new edition differs from the other two in being printed in solid pages with large type, not in double columns with small—certainly to the great advantage of the reader's eyesight. Poetry in double columns is not so bad, but to read the prose works in that form for any length of time is decidedly fatiguing. By the use of thin paper the bulk of the volume is kept practically the same as that of its rivals, tho it has slightly over 1,000 pages, as against about 622 for the Della Torre edition, and about 500 for the Oxford.

A second external difference concerns the order of the various works. In both the earlier editions the poetry precedes the prose, and the *Commedia* is at the head with this result: *Commedia, Canzoniere, Eclogae* [*Salmi e Credo*, in the Oxford edition only], *Vita Nuova, Convivio, Monarchia, De Vulgari Eloquentia, Epistolae, Quaestio de Aqua et Terra*. In the new edition, however, the order is chronological, no attempt being made to group separately prose and verse, or Latin and Italian; with this result: *Vita Nuova, Rime, Convivio, De Vulgari Eloquentia, Monarchia, Epistolae, Eclogae, Commedia*. This new arrangement seems to me distinctly better. It more truly reflects the unity and continuity of Dante's literary career, in which prose and verse, Latin and vernacular, were but the varying instruments of a wonderfully single purpose, not distinctive phases of activity. Of course, the works can always be read in any order that the reader pleases; but there is a certain impressiveness in finding them ready disposed in an order which outwardly expresses the well-ordered development of their author's all-commanding personality.

A third general point of comparison is the Index, in which the new edition emphatically surpasses its predecessors. The Oxford index is a list of names and passages, devoid of comment; that of the Della Torre edition adds occasional brief descriptions, together with an attempt at a list of philosophical terms—neither the one undertaking nor the other very successfully carried out. The new index accomplishes, with admirable brevity and clearness, what the Della Torre one attempted, at the same time distributing the references under the heads which they illustrate, instead of lumping them. Moreover, this index is preceded by an equally valuable *Indice-Sommario*, to which nothing in the other two editions corresponds—affording a most useful aid in locating a poem or a chapter the content of which one recollects in a general way, and wishes to verify. In these three respects, then—typography, order, and index—the new edition must be regarded as showing unmistakable superiority.

The special section to which many readers will most eagerly turn is that containing the lyrics, as edited by Barbi. Just why we have had to wait so long for a scholarly text of poems not only interesting as being Dante's but of great, often supreme, beauty in themselves, is one of the conspicuous puzzles of Italian scholarship. At last, however, expectation is rewarded; and as this section undoubtedly embodies the most noteworthy textual contribution in the whole work, I may seem justified in devoting most of my remaining space to a sketch of its method and contents.

In the Oxford text, the miscellaneous lyrics are not arranged with any reference to subject or probable date, but merely sorted according to their metrical forms, and then given in alphabetical order. In the Della Torre edition they

are grouped in a rather haphazard fashion, as *amorse, allegoriche, dottrinali, varie*, and *corrispondenze in versi*. Within these groups the order is intended to be chronological; but, especially in the first group, a good deal of conjecture enters into the ordering. Barbi's division, tho conducted on somewhat similar lines, is simpler and more flexible. He makes seven books, as follows: (1) poems of the *Vita Nuova* (given only as references), to which are added the anonymous reply to the canzone *Donne che avete* and Cino's canzone of consolation on the death of Beatrice; (2) other poems of the *Vita Nuova* period; (3) the tenzone with Forese Donati; (4) allegorical and doctrinal poems; (5) other poems of love, and of correspondence; (6) the *Pietra* poems, wisely restricted to *Io son venuto*, *Al poco giorno*, *Amor, tu vedi ben*, and *Così nel mio parlar*; and (7) various poems from the period of exile. These are followed by an appendix of doubtful poems, and a list of poems which are in no case to be considered Dante's.

In comparing the three editions, it will be simpler to leave Della Torre's out of account (because of its tendency to include poems of very questionable authenticity), and to confine attention to a comparison between Barbi's text and the Oxford. The chief additions are found in Barbi's books II and V. In the former book are added the stanzas *Lo meo servente core* and *Madonna, quel signor che voi portate*; the canzone *Lo doloroso amor che mi conduce* (the only doubtful canzone that is so added); and the following sonnets:

- 40, 42, 44, 46, 47: five sonnets addressed to Dante da Maiano.
 48: Se Lippo amico se' tu che mi leggi.
 51: Non mi poriano già mai fare ammenda.
 59: Volgete li occhi a veder chi mi tira.
 60: Deh, ragionamo un poco insieme, Amore.
 61: Sonar brachetti, e cacciatori aizzare.
 62: Com' più vi fere Amor co' suoi vincastri.
 63: Sonetto, se Meuccio t'è mostrato.
 66: Ne le man vostre, gentil donna mia.
 72: Un dì si venne a me Malinconia.

Book V adds a ballata, *Perchè ti vidi giovanetta e bella* (88), and three sonnets:

- 93: Io Dante a te che m'hai così chiamato.
 95: I'ho veduto già senza radice.
 99: Messer Brunetto, quella pulzelletta.

Book VII adds one sonnet:

- 113: Degno fa voi trovare ogni tesoro.

This makes a total increment of one canzone, one ballata, two stanzas, and eighteen sonnets.

As for the poems in the Oxford edition which are rejected by Barbi, we naturally find among them the two canzoni *Morte, poich' io non trovo a cui mi doglia* and *O patria degna di trionfal fama*, the two apocryphal sestinas, and the ballata *Fresca rosa novella*. One other ballata, *Poichè saziar non posso gli*

occhi miei, is rejected, and two are regarded as doubtful: *Donne, io non so di mi prieghi Amore* and *In abito di saggia messaggiera*. Among the sonnets the mortality is naturally greater, the following nine being rejected:

Da quella luce che il suo corso gira.
 E' non è legno di sì forti nocchi.
 Io maledico il dì ch'io vidi in prima.
 Io son sì vago della bella luce.
 Lo Re che merta i suoi servi a stagione.
 Ora che'l mondo s'adorna e si veste.
 Per villania di villana persona.
 Se'l bello aspetto non mi fosse tolto.
 Togliete via le vostre porte omai.

Three others are regarded as doubtful:

Molti, volendo dir che fosse Amore.
 Nulla mi parrà mai più crudel cosa.
 Poichè, sguardando, il cor feriste in tanto.

These additions and exclusions must obviously commend themselves in practically every instance. One may wonder why the sonnet *Chi guarderà giammai senza paura* (Oxford no. 26) was not excluded along with the others which it so much resembles in form and style. One may also be somewhat surprised at the definite ascription to Dante of the sonnet *Nelle man vostre, gentil donna mia*, which to many critics is so peculiarly characteristic of Cino da Pistoia. But on these points the larger edition, when it appears, will undoubtedly adduce important evidence. In the case of the thirty doubtful poems contained in the appendix of the present edition, brief notes indicate the state of the manuscript tradition, and the order of arrangement is from more to less probable. The first nine may be Dante's; the next eight are disputed between Dante and Cino; the remainder are in all likelihood not Dante's.

One other question of inclusion which faced the editors has been decided in the negative—that of *Il Fiore*. In spite of the arguments in its favor which have lately been brought forward, Barbi has found himself less convinced than before of its authenticity; and its inclusion would also have added materially to the size of the book. It was therefore decided to issue it in a supplementary volume, which has, I believe, just appeared, and in which the whole matter can be considered without preconceptions.

The other section of the volume which contains some critical discussion is, naturally, the *Epistolae*. The three letters written in the name of the Countess of Battifolle are now definitely admitted to the canon, and there is an appendix which gives all the existing allusions to letters now lost. At the end of it is given, for completeness, the Italian letter to Guido da Polenta, usually regarded as spurious. All four are additions to the body of material in the Oxford text. I may add, in conclusion, that the *tre tavole fuor di testo* are the well-known Bargello portrait, Domenico di Michelino's painting of the poet with Florence and the three realms of the *Commedia* in the background, and the last page of Francesco di ser Nardo's codex of the supreme poem.

I have, I think, said enough to show that this new volume marks a decisive advance over its predecessors, and that it is a book which no serious student of Italian literature, and no lover of Dante, can afford to be without. Even when the larger edition appears, the present volume will hold its position as the best commodious text; and for many readers, who are not concerned with the minutiae of philological evidence, it will long command confidence as a text which faithfully gives us what Dante wrote, as nearly as possible in the form in which he wrote it.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE

NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

The Canzoniere of Dante: A Contribution to its Critical Edition. By Aluigi Cossio. New York, The Encyclopedia Press [1918]. 8vo, pp. xii, 247.

This attractively printed volume leaves a total impression which is somewhat indefinite. It is orderly in arrangement, it shows wide reading, it abounds in facts. It gives us a bibliography of articles; a list of manuscripts grouped by centuries, with descriptions and lists of poems, and a list of editions and translations; a historical account of the *Canzoniere*; remarks on the distribution of the poems, and on their genuineness; and finally a text based on a manuscript in the Rylands Library, Manchester. Here is surely no shortage of material; but the sense in which it affords a contribution to the study of Dante's lyrics is not wholly easy to make out.

A certain diffuseness in the style, and a lack of real basis for the order of topics, indicate where the defect lies. The book is really a collection of items of information, not an organizing of them. Small matters are repeated and insisted on; the trick of giving every manuscript its full name on every mention of it is symptomatic. Moreover, some of the items are no longer of current interest. The vagaries of the early editors are of no account today; what we need is a sharp statement of problems, and an attempt to clear up the relations of manuscripts. The external history of the lyrics may have some value from a purely historical standpoint, but it sheds little light on the real difficulties, and even the text offered by a single manuscript does not at present carry us far. To be sure, the author does not profess to give solutions, but problems are not reduced to more manageable form unless the facts bearing on them are set in a more intelligible order than before. The mere opinions of editors concerning, *e.g.*, the genuineness of *O patria degna di trionfal fama* are of little use; we want to know just how far back the attribution to Dante goes, how many manuscripts support it, and how authoritative they are. A suggestive remark like that (p. 129) on the possibility of a double recension for the canzoni of the *Convivio* deserves something better than mere mention. So with the table of all the sonnets ascribed to Dante; how much more useful it would be if the items were classified, and the relative weight of the manuscripts at least provisionally estimated.

Occasionally the author allows opportunity for specific dissent. On p. 141 he says that he finds no manuscript attributing the ballata *Fresca rosa novella* to Dante; but the attribution exists in the Palatino 418, no. 126, the confusion between Dante and Cavalcanti going back to that early date, though

fortunately no later manuscript seems to have taken it over. On p. 136 he maintains the genuineness of the much-disputed anonymous canzoni in the Vaticano 3793; but the grounds therefor are purely subjective, for there is in the manuscript itself no ground for thinking that the scribe thought them Dante's, and to say that "a time will come when all scholars will accept them as the genuine work of our poet" seems hazardous. It also seems unfortunate to apply the adjective "apocryphal" indiscriminately to poems by contemporaries of Dante (especially Cino da Pistoia) wrongly ascribed to him, and to poems which were doubtless written long after his death; it ought to be restricted to the latter.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE

NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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THE FLORAL GAMES OF TOULOUSE

(Continued from vol. XII, p. 275)

THE POETRY OF THE LIVRE ROUGE

While winning poems were not transcribed in the *Livre Rouge* before 1539, there is sufficient information in the records to enable us to determine the nature of them. In 1513, Hugues Roguier won the *Gauch* (*Souci*) or Marigold for a ballade in the *langue d'oc*. This seems to have been the last time that a prize was awarded for a poem in the native language.⁴³ The Violet was awarded to a student, Jacques Sapientis, for a *ballade unisonant et entrelassée*, upon the *blason* of the counts of Toulouse. From 1514 to 1518, the records are wanting. In 1519, Jean de Villeneuve was awarded the Marigold for an *oraison de Notre Dame* in the form of a *ballade*. Jehan de Vignes, a priest, won the Eglantine for a *ballade unisonante* in praise of Saint Sebastian; and the Violet was won by Jehan Pérot, student, for a *ballade* on the university of Toulouse. The refrain of his poem,

“Le dieu Phœbus est venu d'Ylion,”

shows a fondness for parading classical names, one of the marked characteristics of the Rhetoricians. The next record (1535) is

⁴³ While no poems composed in the language of the South were awarded prizes during the period covered by the *Livre Rouge* (1513-1641), it was not long after this period that Grégoire de Barutel in 1651 won the Eglantine for a *chant royal* composed in the Gascon dialect. This was no doubt an exceptional case. The practice of awarding prizes for poems in Provençal was revived only in the later nineteenth century, and at present they have their regular place in the annual competition for prizes.

taken up with a quarrel between the mainteneurs and the capitouls⁴⁴ over the election of a chancellor, and no mention is made of the contest. The next is that of 1539, the time when the winning poems began to be inscribed in the *Livre Rouge*. Of the two poems recorded, one is a *chant royal* by Pierre Trassabot, a native of Toulouse who acquired considerable reputation as a musician, painter and sculptor. This is the first *chant royal* of which there is any record, and may have been the first for which a prize was awarded in the Floral Games. The theme, that life is a constant struggle, is commonplace, and the refrain reflects the Rhetoricians' liking for sententious or proverbial sayings:⁴⁵

"Que vye humaine a icy tousjours guerre."

The poet injects into his composition a certain imagery and portrays faithfully enough the life of the soldier of his day as well as the longing for peace and the hopes aroused over the prospect of it; the disillusionment that comes as other ills spring up to take the place of war; the cold, the heat, the storms, and all the things that beset man on his journey through this world.

The ballade for which Hector du Pertuiz won the Violet shows the influence of the *Roman de la Rose* in its personification of Melancholy, War, Death, etc.

"Fuyez chagrin, chassez mélancolye,"

says the poet, as he proceeds with a banal pæan of praise in honor of his sovereign, whom it would be impossible to recognize if we did not know that Francis I was reigning at the time.

With 1540, begins the sway of the *chant royal*. In that year all of the winning poems were of this genre, and, as has already been stated, with few exceptions the *chant royal* will hold undisputed sway in the Floral Games until the end of the seventeenth century. Throughout the sixteenth century, the content and spirit of the winning poems will be determined by the models of the Rhetoricians. Not that no influence will be exerted by the new spirit of the Renaissance as represented by the *Pléiade*, but that this influence is com-

⁴⁴ The capitouls, or city fathers, participated in the Floral Games as representatives of the city, which furnished the funds to pay for the annual prizes.

⁴⁵ "La façon dont les rhétoriciens concevaient la morale les conduisait nécessairement à l'exprimer en proverbes. . . ."—Henry Guy: *op. cit.*, p. 68.

paratively limited before the seventeenth century. In the seventeenth century, Pléiade influences will alter profoundly the content and spirit of many of the winning poems, but the form remains and the general conception of the *chant royal* lingers. In the sixteenth century it is the general ideas of the Renaissance, especially philosophy and science that attract the young poets, and their influence overshadows that of the Pléiade. Aside from the thought, the greatest innovations of the sixteenth century are, perhaps, the change from the verse of *ten* syllables to the *alexandrin* (in 1556), and the introduction of certain words and turns of expression characteristic of the Pléiade. In their language the poets of the Floral Games are not imitators of the effete Rhetoricians. French is a foreign language to many of them, and their works display the crudeness that accompanies the effort to write in a foreign tongue, but they have a respect for the language that was not possessed by the later Rhetoricians. Their attempts to express in French abstract and philosophical ideas which they have but poorly digested, often leads them into absurd turns of expression and grotesque figures of speech, but one is impressed by the seriousness with which the poets approach their task. With the progress of time, the language of the poets improves, and in the winning poems of the seventeenth century we see a gradual approach toward perfection; many of the poems containing lines and passages worthy of the great poets.

At the hands of the poets of the Floral Games, the *chant royal* becomes an instrument for the portrayal of allegory to the extent that the *envoi* loses its name and is succeeded by the word *allégorie*. Had the allegorical features of the poems been introduced in a skilful and natural manner, the poems that have been preserved in the *Livre Rouge* might stand as monuments of allegorical literature. But the reader after wading through five strophes in which are paraded names belonging to ancient mythology is suddenly startled, when he reaches the *envoi* or *allégorie*, to discover that Jupiter is God, that Apollo is Jesus, and that Daphne is the Virgin Mary. As was the case with their models, the poets of Toulouse had an artificial conception of allegory. Whatever of vitality there had been in the allegorical treatment of literary themes had long since passed away. For the poets of Toulouse, antiquity presents the same sort of

fascination that it did for their models of the north; nor do the former understand the ancient world any better than the latter. The difference between the Rhetoricians and the Pléiade is that while the former knew *about* antiquity, the latter *knew* it. Like the Rhetoricians, the poets of the Floral Games have a fondness for parading their knowledge. Under their pens long enumerations are made of the heroes of antiquity: heroes and heroines of mythology, great writers, characters from history. The occult sciences, astrology and alchemy, have an irresistible charm. Abstruse questions of philosophy attract these student poets as the flame does the moth. The burning questions of the times hardly disturb them at all. But for an occasional poem on the reigning sovereign or the dauphin, there is scarcely any portrayal of the times in approximately three hundred *chants royaux* recorded in the *Livre Rouge*, covering a period of a hundred years, the period which witnessed the struggles of humanism and the Reformation, and in the political realm the growth of France into an absolute monarchy under the strong hand of Richelieu.

A survey of a few of the poems contained in the *Livre Rouge* will furnish the key to the contents as a whole. By 1540, as already stated, all of the winning poems were *chants royaux*. In that year a young poet, Corrière, celebrates a shepherd guarding his flocks in a "sumptuous valley." In the *envoi* we are told that the shepherd is God, the flock is human nature, the lamb is the Saviour, and the sheep, the Virgin. Claude Terlon⁴⁶ depicts the passion of our Lord. Apollo is Jesus, Daphne is his body born in chastity. Jehan Rus, of Bordeaux, celebrates "l'arbre passant toute œuvre naturelle." This marvellous tree, situated "towards Greece," has a powerful attraction:

De toutes partz, pour ce boys à grand presse
Vous eussiez veu gens venir et aller.⁴⁷

The Grand Turk appears to mar the perfect bliss and happiness of the scene. The tree is Jesus, the Grand Turk is the Devil.

Qui fist mourir (au moins comme il pensoit)
L'arbre passant toute œuvre naturelle.

⁴⁶ Also spelled = Trellon.

⁴⁷ Some of the poems cited have been previously printed, but many are here published for the first time.

⁴⁸ Should be *qui*.

In 1541, Pierre du Cèdre, who was to play a leading part as a Huguenot in the religious troubles at Toulouse in the second half of the century, celebrated the excellence of Poetry in crude verses in which he enumerated a list of names from the Bible and from Greek and Roman antiquity: Moses, David, Orpheus, Museus, the Sybil, Lynus, Plato, Homer, Virgil, and Ovid, concluding his argument with the refrain:

“Laurier sans feuille et sans loz bon poète.”

Mercadier de Besse wrestles with the “Cognition de la chose divine.” In 1543 Pierre Pascal introduces us to another wonderful tree, this time the marvellous tree is “towards Judea,” and is a tree

“Que⁴⁸ l’homme rend à jamais bien heureux.”

In 1544, Étienne Forcatel,⁴⁹ who later was selected as professor of law in the university for the chair for which Cujas⁵⁰ had entered into competition, began an unintelligible philosophical poem:

“Démagorgon, le grand père des dieux,
Sortit du creux de l’abisme du monde. . . .”

In 1548, Anthoine Noguier, who wrote in Latin a well known history of Toulouse is obsessed with the idea of primal causes, the remoteness of which he seeks to impress upon the reader by the repetition of the word “avant:”

“Avant le poix, avant nombre et mesure,
Avant Chaos et, son encombrement,
Avant le cours de Phœbus qui mesure
Les chaudz et froidz sentiers obliquement,
Avant que fust du monde la machine,
Avant la mer et son ample piscine,
Avant que feust le Centre mesuré,
L’idée estoit sans fin nulle et naissance
Et contenoit en son sein azuré
Ung tout en trois d’une mesmes essence.”

From the *allégorie* we learn that the “tout en trois” is the Trinity.

⁴⁸ In the *Livre Rouge*, he signs his name thus, but it has usually appeared in print as *Forcadel*.

⁵⁰ Known as the Father of Modern Law.

In 1549, Hélie Boyresse's vision is dazzled by a green tree, "pleasant and delectable;" from the refrain we learn that it is

"La verte olyve en ce monde honorée."

and from the Envoi, the son of God "fruit sortant de la pucelle." In the same year Mathieu de Chalvet, afterwards first president of the parlement of Toulouse, and translator of Seneca, carried his audience into a "cloz délicieux" to witness

"Le seul Phénix, se tuant pour renaistre."

In 1550, Jehan de Flavyn has an eye single to

"Le point parfait dont deppend tout le monde."

In 1551, Pierre de Saint Aignan celebrates

"La nef flottant pour le salut du monde."

In 1554, an honorary prize was awarded to Pierre de Ronsard,⁵¹ and for the first time a *sonnet* appeared upon the records of the *Livre Rouge*, not as a winning poem, but accompanying a *ballade*, for which Sanxon de la Croix, *escollier*, was awarded the Violet. Since the *ballade* had practically ceased to be a form of the Floral Games, we are led to suspect that the judges were influenced in their decision by the *sonnet*:

"Chantez, mes vers, entonnez un tel son
Que vous puissiez plaire aux doctes oreilles,
Et toy, mon luth, fredonne les merveilles
De l'Éternel, en ta douce chanson.

Tu as apriz de Phébus ta leçon,
Ces chantz secretz et choses nonpareilles
Et pourquoy donc est-ce que tu sommeilles,
Te congnoissant des Muses nourrisson?

Fay moy parler tes résonnantes cordes
Le loz divin que sur elles accordes,
Et charge-moy sur tes chansons de miel,

Afin qu'estant sur leur eschigne forte,
Je puisse ung jour aller frapper la porte
Du temple saint qu'ont les Muses au ciel."

⁵¹ An honorary prize was awarded to Baif in 1586.

A few sonnets aside, the first sustained breath of the Renaissance is to be found in a hymn on the Nativity, a poem of almost a hundred lines in *alexandrins*, which Loys du Pin inserted, along with a conventional *chant royal*, in 1569:

“Sus! laissés voz brebis et voz troupeaulx de bestes;
Accourés tous ensemble aveques voz musètes,
Prenez, voz chalumeaux et d’un son gracieux
Chantés et rechantés chascun à qui mieulx mieulx,
Car c’est à ceste nuict que le filz du grand père
Est sorty des liens du ventre de sa mère.
Sus donc! despechés vous, en Bethléem courés,
Où sur ung peu de foin l’enfant vous troeuvérés.”

The poets of the Floral Games of the sixteenth century have a fondness for miraculous trees and paradisiacal gardens. François de Chalvet succeeds in giving an atmosphere of actuality to such threadbare themes when he introduces us to

“Le jardin fleurissant sur les bordz de Garonne.”

The “chaste pucelle” who graces it with her presence is Clémence Ysaure, “les grand dieux” are the capitouls, and the flowers that adorn it are the Violet, Eglantine and Marigold of the Floral Games. The poem is grotesque; but perhaps the most sublimely ridiculous poem in the whole collection is one by which the same writer won his third prize, the Eglantine, in 1581. The refrain indicates the nature of the poem:

“L’œuvre qui se parfaict dans le vase alchimique.”

The *œuvre* is the philosophical egg,

“C’est l’œuf philosophal dans lequel on proiète
Durant trois mois triplés nostre pierre secrète.”

In 1577, Jehan Sevestre, a Parisian, presented a *chant royal* and won the Eglantine. His poem in honor of the holy and sacred Trinity, the poet calls a *chant royal monocole, dédocastrophe, intercalaire, acrostiche*. He calls the first strophe *Proode*, the second *Strophe*, the third *Mésode*, the fourth *Antistrophe*, the fifth *Epode*, and the *envoi*, *Epirrhème*. Thus, in this poem are blended ill-digested ideas of the Rhetoricians and the Pléiade. For all the

poet's pretensions, the poem does not differ from the other *chants royaux* except that it is an acrostic and instead of being *monocle*, perfectly homogeneous, as the author claims, is perhaps more incoherent than the majority of the poems contained in the *Livre Rouge*. The first letters of the lines of the first strophe spell the poet's name. Those of the second strophe tell that he is "Parisien," and the first lines of the remaining strophes announce the subject of the poem: "En l'honneur de la sainte et sacrée Trinité." The first strophe illustrates sufficiently the *chant royal* as a whole:

"Je chanteray l'honneur souverain de nature,
Après Pythagoras, montant dessus les cieux,
N'ayant encore aucun frayé cest' adventure,
Sur le plus hault esprit j'esleveray mes yeux.
En l'unité on voit l'origine première
Vn principe comun de toute la matière
Et de la forme ornant cest univers parfait;
Toute loy tend à un, ainsi qu'un a tout fait,
Retourne tout en un, començant un en nombre
Et finist on en un, car tout fait et refait
L'unité divisant et unissant tout nombre."

The poet's belief in the virtue of numbers is a reminiscence of the Pythagorean philosophy which was reduced by the schoolmen of the middle ages to abstract formulas. To certain numbers, such as 1, 3, 4, 5, 9, and 10, marvellous powers or properties were attributed, from the time of Dhuoda, who wrote in Latin in the ninth century, to go back no further, down through the middle ages, the science of numbers had attracted writers. Frequently the poets of the Floral Games enveloped their poems in the mystery and allegory of numbers.

"Le trois, nombre sacré, moule de toute essence."

"Le rond qui du quadrangle est le centre immobile."

"Les trois angles esgaulx du parfait isoplure."

"Le rond qui de trois ronds est le centre immobile."

Excursions into physics, chemistry, or medicine, give such lines as:

- "L'aymant qui donne vie au métal insensible."
- "L'eau fort qui des métaux divise la substance."
- "Le simple distillé dans le bain de Marie."
- "Le corail destruisant le charme des sorcières."
- "Les effets merveilleux de l'eau de jalousie."

In their wide interest in knowledge, in their boldness in approaching the most abstruse questions of philosophy, astrology, alchemy, astronomy, physics, medicine, chemistry, or what not, the poets of the second half of the sixteenth century at Toulouse are of the Renaissance. They represent the natural development of the tendencies of the Rhetoricians modified by the new spirit. By comparing them with the Pléiade, it is easy to see what a profound revolution was worked in French poetry by Du Bellay, Ronsard, Desportes, and other members of the group. The following lines, most of them refrains, will give some notion of the variety of the topics which these riders of an unruly Pegasus undertook to treat:⁵²

- 1552. "La ronde sphère à son centre fondée."
- 1553. "Le petit monde estant encor à naistre."
- 1554. "Les deux liqueurs arrosans tout le monde."
- 1558. "L'esprit universel infuz en ce bas monde."
- 1559. "La pure et simple forme exempte de nature."
- 1560. "Les formes qui sans forme ont formé la machine."
- 1561. "L'astre qui plus reluict au zodiaque oblique."
- 1562. "L'édifice immortel de la divine essence."
- 1564. "L'eschelle qui conjoint la terre avec les cieux."
- "La lune du soleil empruntant la lumiere."
- 1567. "La clarté flamboiant dans la lampe éternelle."
- 1569. "L'accord entretenant le ciel, la terre et l'onde."
- 1570. "L'estoille marinière aux navigans propice."
- 1573. "La matière aspirant à la forme parfaite."
- 1573. "L'âme vivifiant ce que le ciel enserre."
- 1577. "L'estoille par l'escler du soleil redorée."
- 1579. "Les trois pointz rapportés en la ligne éclipitique."

⁵² Monsieur François de Gélis, mainteneur of the Floral Games, has recently written an article upon the humanistic tendencies of the poets of the Floral Games. See *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de Toulouse*, 1919: *Les Poètes humanistes des Jeux Floraux*.

- 1581. "L'œuvre qui se parfaict dans le vase alchimique."
- 1584. "Les discors accordés d'éternelle discorde."
- 1586. "Le cristal honorant la fontaine de vie."
- 1586. "Le luth qui remplit tout d'une sainte harmonie."
- 1589. "Le triangle accompli de trois lignes esgalles."
"Astrologue subtil, qui as la cognoissance,
De maintz événements que tu vas prédisant."
- 1590. "Le charme qui nous lie à l'amour éternelle."
- 1591. "Je suis grand alchimiste et qui de la nature
Recherche curieux les plus rares secretz."
- 1593. "L'esprit, l'âme et le cors de la pierre alchimique."
- 1596. "La navire bruslée au miroir d'Archimède."
- 1598. "Du bel astre argenté la lumière éclipsee."
- 1600. "La Colure marquant l'un et l'autre solstice."
- 1602. "Les sept astres puyssants qui esclairent le monde."
- 1604. "La verge descouvrant les richesses du monde."
- 1604. "Les douze astres bornans du soleil la carrière."
- 1613. "Le diamant brizé par ung coup de tonnerre."
- 1614. "Le ruisseau qui résoult les pierres endurcies."
- 1615. "Le néant devenu de l'infini capable."

Let it be recalled that the purpose of the poems, as reiterated again and again in the pages of the *Livre Rouge*, was to glorify God, the Virgin, and the saints. The effect of the Rhetorician influence and of the paganizing influence of the Renaissance was to deflect the poems from the stated purpose. The semblance of a religious import or intention was preserved by explaining in the *envoi* or *allégorie* that the things treated in the poem were symbolical, and had some religious or moral significance which the poet proceeds to indicate.

The fondness for the occult sciences on the part of the Toulouse poets was probably due to the impetus which they had received in France at the opening of the century. Cornelius Agrippa had lived for some time in Lyons. Other mediaeval scientists were there also, as for example, Simon de Pharès, whom Charles VIII visited in 1495, and an Italian who boasted of transmuting baser metals into gold. The celebrated Nostradamus lived in Provence in the earlier sixteenth century, and Julius Caesar Scaliger lived at Agen, not far from Toulouse.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ For a good account of Scaliger, see Christie, *Étienne Dolet*.

While influences of the Pléiade are not entirely wanting in the poems of the Floral Games in the sixteenth century, it is not until the beginning of the seventeenth that the Pléiade influence makes a sufficient impression to materially improve the poetic quality of the chant royal. In 1601, Paul du May, a young poet of Toulouse, won the Eglantine for a poem which shows a wide departure from the preceding poets.

“ C'estoit en la saison que l'aisle peinte
De Zéphir esvantoit maint fleuron gracieux,
Dont le nouveau printemps rend sa flore pourprée,
Descouvrant cest esmail qui décore les cieux,
Quand je vis ces thrésors dont la vermeille aurore
A la pointe du jour son visaige redore.
Et le tige amoureux du soucy blondissant
Qui baisoit le beau tainct de l'œilhet rougissant;
Admirant la beauté de sa fleur nompareille
Le soleil entr'ouvrist mes yeux esblouissant
Les lis d'or embrassans la fleur de lis vermeille.”

This poem, on the marriage of Henry IV to Marie de Médicis and the arms or *blasons* of the two families, is conceived more nearly in the manner of the Pléiade than any of the poems, perhaps, that had preceded it. In this same year, a *sonnet* was inserted in the *Livre Rouge*, which is of interest as showing the influence of Desportes:

“ Et quoi, mon cher souci, serez-vous toujours telle?
Aimez-vous toujours à me faire mourir?
Ha! que le Ciel fist mal de vous former si belle
Et de tant de beaux dons vostre esprit favoriser!

Mais bien, si tant vous plaist, une mort bien cruelle
Bornera mes tourmens, sans guères plus souffrir,
Puisque par trait de temps mon service fidelle
N'a sçu de vos beaux yeux la rigueur amoindrir!

Ainsi parloit Philon, aiant l'âme blessée
Des beaux yeux ennemis de sa belle Dircée,
Trop beaux et trop cruelz à ses contentemens.

Mais enfin ce berger, après tant de souffrances,
Comme un ruzé soldat, il a donné dedans,
Aiant par son discours abbattu les déffences."

In 1618, Jean Allard, of Mirapoix, was awarded the Eglantine for a *chant royal*, "à l'imitation des tableaux de Philostrate." This poem presents a curious blending of pagan sensuality and Christian morality:

"Voyés son sein de neige où mesmes dans la glace
Amour nourrit ses feux et garde son flambeau;
Sur ces deux petits monts quelquefois il prend place
Et ressemble Apollon sur le double coupeau.
Son col dessus l'yvoire emporte l'avantage,
Mais l'art de la nature est plus grand au visage,
Les lys y sont meslés d'un beau teint de pudeur,
La rose est sur sa bouche, au dedans son odeur,
Et Zéphire amoureux d'une si douce haleine,
Baise sans estre veu, tout pasmé de douceur
Susanne qui se lave au bord de la fontaine.

In the *reddition de l'allégorie* we learn that Suzanne is the soul of the sinner.

The poem which is perhaps the best sustained throughout and which presents the most vivid imagery is that of Bernard d'Aliès, of Toulouse, Doctor of Theology, for which the Violet was awarded in 1623:

CHANT ROYAL.

POUR UNE DESCRIPTION D'UN POURTRAIT DE
SAINTE MAGDELAINE.

Quel est ce beau pourtrait? Seroit-ce Magdelene?
Mais pourquoi les couleurs l'ont peinte sans couleur?
Elle qui parloit tant, va souspirant à peine,
Elle qui rioit tant est pleine de douleur.
Ses yeux qui les espritz rengoient sous le servage,
S'abaissent sous la Croix et luy rendent homage.
Ses mains, filles d'honneur, qui soignent sa beauté,
En conspirent la perte avec sa cruauté.
Elle ravissoit tout, elle est toustes ravie.

Non, sans doubte, voilà, foulant la vanité,
Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.

Elle est là de son long, sur l'herbe, la mondaine,
Ainsin l'orage abat une nouvelle fleur
Qui rehaussoit l'honneur et le pris d'une plaine,
Et luy couvre son tainct d'un voile de palleur.
Mille amours de ses yeux fuient à vol, à nage,
Les petitz-filz des eaux craignent-ilz le naufrage?
Sur ce front, près des yeux, quelqu'un en est monté,
Dans son sein, sur deux montz, les pleurs en ont porté,
Qui deçà, qui delà, quelque route a suivie,
Abandonant au deuil, en ceste extrémité,
Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.

Ce corail animé par où sort son haleine
Dans la mer de ses pleurs a laissé la rougeur;
Les roses et les lis dont sa face estoit plaine,
N'ont gardé que l'espine en noyant la fraîcheur.
Ses cheveux tout mouillés s'attachent au visage,
Leurs nœuds sont relâchés et leur foible cordage
Où tant et tant de cœurs perdoient la liberté,
Ne les retiennent plus dans la captivité.
Son sexe à sa beauté ne porte plus envie,
De tous ses dous appas les plus dous ont quitté
Magdelene pleurant le printems de sa vie.

Telle se lamentant on pourroit peindre Hélène,
Quand le Grec d'Ilion demeura le vainqueur,
Si l'on ne sçavoit pas qu'elle estoit toutte vaine,
Que les pleurs de ses yeux n'estoient pas ceux du cœur!
Mais regardés la nostre avec quel fort courage
Pour l'amour de son Dieu son beau corps elle outrage!
On diroit que son bras n'est jamais arrêté,
Qu'un coup à l'autre coup est tousjours adjousté,
Et ny lasse jamais, ny jamais assouvie,
Extrême on voit tousjours, en son austérité,
Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.

Elle mesle son sang à ses pleurs, l'inhumaine,
Son âme seullement conserve sa blancheur.

Un ruisseau de son sang coule de chasque veine,
 Elle veut y noyer son crime et son erreur.
 Son Dieu qui pend en croix sur le hault de l'ouvrage,
 Semble de son amour lui rendre tesmoignage.
 Voyés! elle se veut cacher en son costé
 Et son esprit de zelle et d'ardeur transporté,
 D'y faire sa demeure à jamais la convie,
 Logeant dans le séjour de la félicité
Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.

REDDITION D'ALLÉGORIE.

Une âme qui cognoist le seigneur yrrité,
 Qui demande pardon à sa divinité,
 Rendant sa volonté sous ses lois asservie,
 Elle est dans ce pourtrait, cherchant (*sic*) l'éternité
*Magdelene pleurant le printemps de sa vie.*⁵⁴

Not often do the poets of the College of Rhetoric strike a personal note. There are, however, some cases:

J'estois près d'ung ruisseau dont les ondes sucrées
 Arrousoient de nectar les campagnes sacrées.

J'eslève mon esprit vers la voûte azurée,
 Pour chanter la bonté des secourables dieux.

Master Bertrand Larade shows himself a true Gascon:⁵⁵

Une nouvelle ardeur eschauffe mon courage
 Et l'âme si fort qu'il se treuve emporté
 Du désir violant d'entreprendre ung ouvrage
 Qui puisse faire ung jour, honte à l'antiquité.

⁵⁴ *Livre Rouge*, vol. 2, f. 271. Published as a whole for the first time.

⁵⁵ Bertrand de Larade was born in 1581 at Montréjeau. He became a poet and made his reputation by *La Muse gasconne* which he composed in 1607. This volume is made up of pastorals, chansons, odes and sonnets. In his *Histoire littéraire des patois*, Dr. Noulet represents him as a poet of little originality but of pleasing naïveté. In 1910 a commemorative tablet was placed upon the house which he had inhabited at Montréjeau, accompanied by eulogies in verse and prose, the most excessive of which characterised him as the Homer of Languedoc. The different editions of his works are: *La Margalide gasconne* (1604), *La Muse gasconne* (1607), *La Muse piranese* (1609). All three were printed at Toulouse by Colomiès.

Infrequently, the poets attempt to portray external nature. The following lines from Catel,⁵⁶ 1617, illustrate the ability of the young poets to deal with nature :

Les pluies, les frimas, la glace et la gelée,
La neige et la rigueur d'un hyver ocieux
Aux bruslantes chaleurs esgalement meslée,
Nous donent maintenant ung printemps gracieux,
Le soleil nous aproche et la terre plus belle,
Tapissée de fleurs, met sa robe nouvelle.
Tout rit à ce beau May, les petitz amoreaux
Dansent folastrement sur le bord des ruisseaux.
Et Zéphir qui fléchit soubz leur obéissance
Faict esclorre parmi la verdure des préaux
La fleur qui rend l'odeur au point de sa naissance.

The later Greek influence of the Renaissance which reached its most perfect expression in Racine, was felt at Toulouse. A strophe from a *chant royal* for which Bernard Boyssonade was awarded the Marigold in 1640, will be sufficient to illustrate the poet's ability in handling a Greek subject :

POLIXÈNE.

Ilion n'estoit plus ; desjà toute la Grèce
Songe à recevoir ces filz ou ces pères absans,
Lorsque la terre s'ouvre au milieu de la presse ;
On oit de bruits confus et de cris languissans ;
Achille en sort et dit : " Race lâche et maudite,
" S'il te souvient encor de mon peu de mérite,
" Que Polixene meure ! En cela seullement
" Rends un juste devoir à mon ressentiment.
" Elle verra mon sang pour le sang de Troïle,
" Dois-je pas veoir aussy, pour mon soulagement,
" *Polixene immolée au sépulchre d'Achille ?* "

The *Livre Rouge* contains several poems of more or less historical interest. Among them is one on the crowning of Louis XIII at Rheims :⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Charles Catel, whom Dumège affirms, but without furnishing proofs, to have belonged to the family of the well-known historian, author of *Les Comtes de Toulouse*.

⁵⁷ *Livre Rouge*, vol. 2, f. 325, v°. Hitherto unpublished.

Les François, dans l'excès d'une joye incroyable,
 Alumoint mille feus par tous les carrefours ;
 On n'oyoit dedans Reyms qu'un meslange agréable
 De leurs chantz d'alégresse et du son des tambours ;
 Le pavé parsemé d'une moisson fleurie
 Paroissoit soubz leurs pas une belle prairie ;
 Un ciel de drap, tendu pour la solempnité,
 Déroboit à leurs yeux le ciel plain de clarté,
 D'où pour nouveau subject de leur resjouissance
 Venoit en ce moment à leur prince indompté
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Le devant des maisons, à ce jour mémorable,
 Effaçoit tout l'éclat des plus superbes Cours,
 Il ne paroissoit plus à soy mesme semblable,
 Revestu de drap d'or, de pourpre et de velours ;
 Les festons, les tableaux et la tapisserie
 Changeoient la moindre rue en riche galerie,
 Chaque place sembloit un palais enchanté
 Tant elle avoit de pompe et de diversité,
 Lorsque, pour acomplir ceste magnificence
 On vit reluire en l'air, plain de sérénité,
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Louis sortoit alors de ce temple admirable
 Où son cœur abjura ses dieux foibles et sourds
 Pour celui qu'il avoit éprouvé secourable,
 Sy tost qu'à sa puissance il avoit eu recours ;
 Ses précieux habits brilloient de broderie,
 Où ce mêloit la perle avec la pierrerie ;
 Son front d'une charmante et douce gravité
 Mettoit d'accord l'amour avec la majesté,
 Et ne faloit que veoir son aymable présence
 Pour croire que le prince avoit bien mérité
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Aussy veoit-il soudain un héraud favorable
 Qui luy porte d'en haut ce visible secours ;
 Il est surpris de veoir son visage adorable
 Qui ternit les appas du plus beau des amours,
 Son maintien le ravit, où, sans affeterie,
 Avecque la douceur la beauté ce marie ;

Il admire ces yeux, dont la vivacité
 Fait veoir quelque rayon de la divinité,
 Et commence à porter plus haut son espérance
 Depuis qu'entre ses mains ont si bien éclaté
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.
 Grand Dieu, s'écrie alors ce prince incomparable,
 N'estoit-ce pas asses, pour bien heurer mes jours,
 D'avoir ceste liqueur, à jamais perdurable,
 Qui doit de nos bonheurs éterniser le cours,
 Sy pour mieux tesmoigner que ma chère patrie
 Sur tous autres pais de ton cœur est chérie,
 Tu n'usses le ciel mesmes en nos mains transporté,
 Et des trois astres d'or son azur marqueté.
 Continue enve(r)s nous, Seigneur, ta bienveillance,
 Et défens à jamais, de toute adversité,
Les lys donnés du ciel au sceptre de la France.

Allégorie.

Mon Roy, qui de nos maux a la source tarie,
 Est ce brave Louis, chassant l'idolâtrie,
 Et le grand Richelieu, dont la fidélité
 Maintient les trois estats sous son autorité
 Et par qui son Empire est mis en assurance,
 Est cet ange qui porte en toute sureté
Les lys donnés du Ciel au sceptre de la France.
 Jean Doujat (1634).⁵⁸

In 1639 appeared a *chant royal* by a poet named Clarac in honor of the birth of the Dauphin, afterwards Louis XIV.⁵⁹ The author wrote also a comedy published at Lyons, entitled: *Arlequin ou Grapignan gascou*. Following is an extract of the poem:

"L'on voit autour de luy que la terre féconde
 Ne laisse jamais rien ny sécher ni pourrir.

⁵⁸ Jean Doujat, born 1606—died 1688, became a member of the French Academy in 1650. He was professor of canon and civil law in the university of Toulouse. It is said that he spoke nearly all the languages known, both ancient and modern. He collected a large library of works on theology, history and philology. He was the author of a well known *Dictionnaire de la langue toulousaine*. Before his death he was appointed historiographer to the king. In 1634 and 1638 he won the Eglantine and the Violet in the Floral Games.

⁵⁹ Born September 5, 1638.

Une source de lait l'arrouse de son onde,
 Dont le cours immortel ne peut jamais tarir.
 Là le monde semble entre en sa première enfance,
 Et le plaisir s'y prend avec tant d'innocence
 Que les plus médisans n'y peuvent rien forger.
 Dans cet heureux climat, Silvie et son berger
 Enflammés des ardeurs d'une amour mutuelle,
 Contre celles du jour cherchent pour s'ombrager
L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle.

"Cet arbre ne craint pas qu'on le coupe ou l'esmonde,
 Son bonheur est cy grand qu'il n'a rien à souffrir;
 S'il gresle, s'il fait vent, si le tonnerre gronde,
 C'est pour grossir les fruitz et les faire meurir.
 Par ses propriétés Dieu fait veoir sa puissance,
 Il l'a voulu douer d'une telle excellence
 Que mesme en le touchant l'on ce peut alléger
 Du plus cruel des maux qui nous viene affliger,
 Et ceste qualité qu'il a sy naturelle
 Fait souhaiter sans cesse au pais étranger
L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle.

"Tout le monde est ravi des biens dont il abonde,
 La terre, l'air, le feu, sont faitz pour le nourrir,
 Et si l'on veoit ici que l'Océan inonde,
 C'est afin que cet arbre y puisse refleurir.
 Les cieux lui font tribut et pour reconnaissance
 Versent en sa faveur leur plus douce influence.
 Tous les ans le printems revient pour l'obliger;
 L'esté meurit les fruitz que d'un soin homager
 L'automne lui présente en offrande immortelle,
 Et l'hiver rigoureux n'oseroit outrager
*L'arbre qui rajunit par une ante nouvelle."*⁶⁰

JOHN C. DAWSON

HOWARD COLLEGE.

(To be continued)

CHAUCER AND MEDIEVAL HUNTING

TOO little attention has been paid to Chaucer's knowledge of hunting, and to those passages in which it appears in his works. For example, it will be easy to show that some words of specific relation to the pursuit of game have been misunderstood, or inadequately explained. Thus some passages in the poet may be more clearly elucidated. Again, Chaucer's knowledge of hunting is evidenced by the number of hunting terms used by him. The *New English Dictionary* cites Chaucer as the first to use the following words or expressions in specific hunting meanings: *alaunt*, *default*, *dog for the bow*, *emboss*, *forloyn* sb.; *foun* 'fawn, young deer of first year';¹ *have a course at*; *lymer* 'limmer, lime-hound'; *over-shoot* 'lose the scent'; *pricasour* 'hunter on horseback'; *priking* 'tracking the hare'; *rechase*, *ruse* vb., *slay with strength*; *sour* 'sore, buck of first year'; *toret* 'swivel.' To these also the great dictionary might have added, as first appearing in Chaucer, *find* 'discover game sought,' and *relay*, besides the compounds *great hart*, *hart-hunting*, *master-hunt*, and probably *great horn*, which it does not give at all. In addition, Chaucer uses the hunting terms *form* 'lair of a hare'; *hallow*, *hamel* (*hamble*); *moot* (*mote*); *strake forth*; *sue* 'pursue as game'; *trist* (*tryst*) 'hunting station.'²

The need of further examination of Chaucer's language of hunting will be apparent from a consideration of the hunting scenes in the *Book of the Duchess*, passages believed to be peculiarly Chaucer's own.³ These are especially lines 344-433 and 1311-23.

¹ In *Troilus and Creseide* i, 46-8 Chaucer uses *foun* (*fown*) in the figurative sense of 'new thought, emotion,' a meaning not recorded by the *NED*.

² It will be seen that most of the words here enumerated are of Old French origin, as the special forms of hunting to which they apply were derived from French hunting practice. The phrases *dog for the bow* and *strake forth* are wholly English, while *course* in *have a course at* and *master* (Chaucer's *moyster*) in *master-hunt* are French. *With strength* in *slay with strength* is the English equivalent of OF. *à force*.

³ M. Sandras, in *Étude sur Chaucer* (1859), pointed some slight likeness to certain lines of a French poem in the *Collection Mouchet* II, 106, but offered little proof that Chaucer knew the poem. Skeat thinks the evidence of little value, and from Chaucer's independence of his source in other hunting scenes I think we may here believe he was picturing things as he knew them personally.

The first begins with the preliminaries of the hunt, the hunter blowing "t' assay his horn," the "going up and doun" of "men, hors, houndes, and other thinge," the gossip of the hunting occasion by "al men."

Chaucer's "other thinge" may seem indefinite, but he probably felt he could not further use the elaborate preparations for a king's hunt. Some idea of what they were may be gained from Turberville's chapter on "How an Assembly should be made in the Presence of a Prince," which he precedes by seventy-two verses on the many details. For example the Butler should bring with him

Some wagons, cartes, some mules or jades yladen till they sweate,
With many a medcine made for common queynt diseases,
As thirstie throates and typpling tongs, whome Bacchus pype appeases,

besides an astonishing array of viands of various sorts.⁴ The Duke of York's *Master of Game* of about 1400 also tells of the sylvan feast accompanying the hunt in his chapter on "The Assembly" (ch. xxxiii, p. 163), and adds regarding details in ch. xxxvi that there must be "carts also to bring the deer that shall be slain to the place where the curées at hunting have been usually held."⁵ All these were doubtless the "other thinge" in Chaucer's mind.

⁴Reference is to chap. 35 in the page for page reprint of George Turberville's *Booke of Hunting* (1576) in the Tudor and Stuart Library. The quaint cut in Turberville gives a good idea of the royal feast in the wood. In the first edition Queen Elizabeth is the central figure with two ladies in waiting just behind her, while all about are evidences of a merry time. When the edition of 1611 was issued the same cut was retained, except that by a curious transformation King James then took the place of Elizabeth before the identical tree of the original, and the ladies in waiting were deftly changed into masculine retainers. See the reproduction of the two cuts side by side in Strutt's *Sports and Pastimes*.

⁵In the absence of the promised reprint of the MSS. in *Palaestra*, I have used the edition of the Baillie-Grohman (Chatto & Windus, 1909). See also ch. xxvi for the numerous preparations preceding the day of the hunt.

The *Master of Game* (*Maystre of the Game*) was made by Edward Third's grandson, Edward second Duke of York, about 1406-13. As is well known the book was largely a translation of *Le Livre de Chasse* by Gaston de Foix, or Gaston Phoebus as he was called from his great beauty. However five chapters of the English book were original, those marked xxii, xxvi, xxxiv-vi in the Baillie-Grohman edition, while there were also in other chapters some changes and some additions by the English author. These are of special value in explaining English, as distinct from French, hunting practice. In quoting the *Master of Game*, for the purely illustrative purposes of this paper, it has seemed sufficient to use the modernized version of the Baillie-Grohman edition.

The first specific hunting expression used by Chaucer is in the boast of the men as they "spoken of hunting,"

How they wolde slee the hert with strengthe.

"Slee the hert with strengthe," or "by strength" as sometimes in the *Master of Game*, means 'to kill in regular chase with horses and hounds.' *With strength* is the English equivalent of OF. *à force*, later rendered also by *at force*, as in Turbervile. The next expression with special hunting meaning, *embosed* in the further boast of the hunters, needs more extended comment, as I believe. The lines containing it are,

And how the hert had upon lengthe
So moche embosed, I not now what.

These lines, and especially the word *embosed*, seem to me to have been wholly misunderstood. Skeat explains *embosed* as

a technical term used in various senses, for which see the New Eng. Dict. Here it means 'so far plunged into the thicket'; In later authors it came to mean 'driven to extremity like a hunted animal'; then 'exhausted by running,' and lastly 'foaming at the mouth' as a result of exhaustion.

Now the meaning which Skeat gives to the word *embosed* in this passage seems wholly insufficient for the place, and as I think depends upon a misunderstanding of its origin and sense development. Skeat admits that *upon lengthe* means 'after a long run,' but does not see that 'plunged into a thicket after a long run' would in no sense complete the boast of the hunters, while 'so much plunged into a thicket' would scarcely be good English. The boast of the hunters is properly concluded, however, if we assume Chaucer used *embosed* in its usual sense when applied to the hunt. They told 'how they would slay the hart with strength, and how the hart had, after a long run, so much exhausted himself (become so much exhausted), or so much foamed at the mouth and thus became flecked with foam in his weary exhaustion,' that he had at last succumbed to their long continued efforts. In other words this is the specific hunting term *embosed* (*embost*, *embossed*), here used for the first time in our literature.

Skeat's error is natural if we follow the *NED.*, on which he

depended, for that excellent work links Chaucer's *embosed* in this passage with Milton's *embost* in *Samson Agonistes* 1700, which it assumes to mean 'plunged into the thicket' and be an otherwise unknown variant of *emboskt*. The Milton passage, figuring the overthrow of his enemies by the blind and despised Samson, reads as follows:

So Virtue, given for lost,
Depressed and overthrown as seemed,
Like that self-begotten bird
In the Arabian woods embost,—
That no second knows nor third,
And lay erewhile a holocaust,—
From out her ashy womb now teemed,
Revives, reflourishes, then vigorous most
When most unactive deemed.

Now if Milton's *embost* means 'plunged into the thicket,' the great poet must not only have used a tautological repetition of the idea 'in the Arabian woods,' but also have omitted any similitude to the preceding "given for lost, Depressed and overthrown" of Virtue, and indirectly of Samson. On the other hand, if *embost* is taken to mean 'worn out, exhausted,' a meaning fully recognized by the *NED*. in other places, the parallelism with Virtue and Samson is complete. In addition Milton is absolved from using *embost* when he meant *emboskt*, a word which he elsewhere uses as we shall see in its more correct form *imbosk*. The figure, that of an animal wearied out by the hunters and admirably adapted to the enslaved Samson, is here applied to the phoenix at the end of its long life. Such use of *embost* entirely agrees with the traditional accounts of the phoenix. After her long life in Arabia (sometimes India), in which she had wearied herself to exhaustion, she did not remain in her native land, but flew away to the city of the sun—a necessary part of the myth—where the "holocaust" of Milton took place, and the beginning of a new life. Even the Milton passage is more logical and more effective with the meaning now first proposed.

In other words both the Chaucer and Milton examples belong with those quoted by the *NED*. from Skelton, Turberville, Spenser and others, in which there is no idea of 'plunged into a wood,' but

rather some variation of 'wearied, exhausted,' developed from the idea of 'foamed at the mouth, became covered with flecks or bosses of foam from hard running.' To clinch our argument, Milton elsewhere used both *emboss* (*embossed*) 'cover with bosses, be covered with bosses,' and *imbosc* 'hide in the wood, lie in ambush,' probably from Italian *imboscare*. The first is found in *Par. Lost* xii, 180, and *Par. Regained* iv, 119. The second, Milton used in the following sentence of *Reformation in England*, B'k I, where he says of the adversaries of reform: "They seek the dark, the bushy, the tangled forest, they would imbosc."⁶ The poet knew both words and used each correctly.

The only other example quoted by the *NED*. with *emboss* in the supposed meaning 'plunge into a wood' is this from Butler's *Elephant in the Moon* 125-30:

An Elephant from one of those
Two mighty armies is broke loose,
And with the Horrour of the Fight
Appears amaz'd, and in a Fright;
Look quickly, lest the sight of us
Should cause the startled Beast t'imboss.

The satirical skit of Butler is hardly one from which to reason regarding the exact meaning of a word, and had not the Milton passage been misunderstood I doubt whether Butler's use of *imboss* would have been seriously considered. The preceding *quickly* would perhaps imply in *imboss* some such meaning as 'hide, hide oneself,' and if so the word may be a retention of the ME. *enbussen* beside *enbuschen*, OF. *embussier* beside *embuscher* 'hide in the wood, lie in ambush.' For examples see Mætzner's glossary to the *Sprachproben*. The form in Butler may be due to confusion with *emboss*, although *imbuss* would improve the rime with *us*. The same etymology would also account for Spenser's *emboss* in *F. Q.* I, iii, 24; I, xi, 20; III, i, 64; VI, iv, 40 the etymology of which has been doubtful. The meaning 'hide, conceal oneself' from 'hide in wood' would fit all examples more satisfactorily than has been proposed heretofore. At the same time, 'foam at the mouth, become flecked with foam' would not be wholly unsuitable

⁶ See p. 34 of W. T. Hale's edition in *Yale Studies in English*.

in the Butler line, or Butler himself may have mistaken the meaning of this unusual word.⁷

The writer of the *NED.* article on *emboss* v. 2 'plunge into a thicket' was clearly puzzled by his own etymology—"perhaps from En + OF. *bos, bois* wood"—for three times he adds explanatory or half-apologetic notes. Of the etymology itself he says, "if so the word is ultimately identical with *imbosk* v. The development of sense, as suggested below, is strange, but appears to be in accordance with the existing evidence." Under meaning 2 the editor says, "The sense 'drive to a thicket,' required by the etymology suggested above, is not clearly evidenced." And still again, under meaning 3, "The sense 'foam at the mouth' is probably influenced by *emboss* v. 1, as if an 'embossed stag' were one 'studded' with bubbles of foam."⁸ With the three examples which once seemed to support the *NED.*'s etymology otherwise explained, we may well assume that the Middle English hunting term *embosen* (*enbossen*) of Chaucer is the OF. *embocer* (*enbosser*) 'to swell, rise in bunches or bosses,' then of a deer in the chase 'become exhausted,' as I have pointed out above.

Further proof that 'cover with foam (by hard running)' is the correct meaning of the hunting term is found in Turbervile, who says of the hart (p. 244) "When he is foamy at the mouth we say he is embost." The exact idea is clearer from the fact that Turbervile is enumerating expressions used at various progressive stages of the hunt, and "embost" stands next before "spent or done." Again, the meaning 'wearied, exhausted' is clear from Cotgrave's use of *imbossed* in defining *malmené*. Under *mené* he defines the former as "ill-handled, abused, hardly used; sore layed to; wearied, tired, jaw fallen, *imbossed* or almost spent as a deer by hard pur-

⁷ The *Ct. Dict.* proposed for the Spenser passages OF. *emboister* 'enclose, insert, fasten as in a box,' but that does not seem to me a satisfactory explanation, especially when the earlier *enbusen* is actually recorded.

⁸ The simpler etymology is to assume at once that *emboss* 'foam at the mouth' is from the *NED.*'s *emboss* v. 1 meaning 'swell, rise in bunches or bosses.' The further sense development is 'be covered with bunches or bosses of foam from the mouth'; 'foam at the mouth and cover the body (of a hunted deer) with bunches or bosses of foam'; 'be wearied or exhausted from long running, evidenced by such foaming at the mouth and covering of the body with bosses of foam.'

suit." Finally, Chaucer himself again used *embossed* (*enbossed*) in *up-embossed hye* of the ornamental bars on the red saddle of Dido (*Leg. of Good Women* 1200), while he also employed the root of OF. *embussier* (*embuscher*), ME. *embuscher*, in *embusshements* of the *Tale of Meliboeus*. It is worth noting that OF. *embocer* (*embosser*) is not recorded before the sixteenth century, but Chaucer's use of it twice is ample proof of its earlier existence.⁹

To return to the hunting scene in the *Book of the Duchess*, when Chaucer rode to the field he overtook, as he says,

a great route
Of huntres and eek of foresteres.

Huntres is the earlier form of our word *hunters* of course, but the *forester* of Chaucer's time was an official more largely connected with hunting than with the preservation of timber, as in more recent times. Thus Manwood tells us (*Lawes Forest* xxi, §4), "A forester is an officer of the King (or any other man) that is sworn to preserve the Vert and Venison of the forest, and attend upon the wild beasts within his Bailiwick." The name was applied first of all to the *master forester*, such as Chaucer himself was in 1398 at North Petherton Park, or to the "forester of the Baillie" in which was the forest to be hunted. He was an important character, for the *Master of Game* explains (ch. xxxvi) that "The master of game should be in accordance with the master forester or parker where it should be that the King should hunt such a day." He should also show the master of game "the King's standing, if the King would stand with his bow, and where the remnant of the bows should stand." Finally he must explain "what game the King would find within the set," that is the part of the forest already set off by men and hounds for the hunt. Under him the master forester had numerous under-foresters, such as was the Knight's yeoman in the *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales*, or that forester of the *Physician's Tale* (*C. T. C.* 83), a former poacher who had given up

His likournesse and al his olde [or theves] crafte,

⁹ Turberville again uses *embost* on p. 103: "If peradventure it happen that the pricker on horsebacke, being at his relaye, should see an Hart of tenne passe by him, and yet heare not the other huntsmen nor their hornes, then let him looke wel whether the Hart be embost or not." The hunter would thus know whether the animal thus seen was the one hunted.

and for this reason,

Can kepe a forest best of any man.

Thus *forester* (*forster*) as Chaucer used it was nearly equivalent to modern *game-keeper*, and quite as important in the medieval hunt.

The hunt of which Chaucer dreamed was not in a park, in which case the procedure would have differed somewhat as the *Master of Game* informs us in ch. xxxvi, but at a *forest-syde*, as we learn from line 372 (see also 363). The actual run for the hart was probably in the more open spaces, and possibly in the plains or *launds* like that of Theseus in the *Knight's Tale* 833 (*C. T. A.* 1691). Moreover, the poet dreams explicitly of a King's hunt, such as he had doubtless witnessed many times as chosen valet of Edward III, and later was often to observe in more honorable position. The distinctive details of such a hunt, which need not now concern us, take up chapters xxvi and xxxvi of the *Master of Game*—both original with the English author, and so especially applicable to English usage—and the 35th and 36th of Turberville's *Booke of Hunting*. The particular King of the poem, "the emperour Octovien" of 368, "this king" of 1314, is reasonably believed to figure Edward himself who, at fifty-seven or fifty-eight, was still vigorous enough to enjoy his favorite sport.

The next hunting term which Chaucer uses, and was the first to use, although the *NED.* first cites the Duke of York's *Master of Game* some thirty years later, is *relay* or the plural *relays* of line 362. This Skeat defines briefly as 'a fresh set of dogs,' but it is properly, as the *NED.* puts it, "a set of fresh hounds (and horses), posted to take up the chase of a deer in place of those tired out." The last phrase "in place of those tired out" is scarcely justified, for the relay hounds did not so much replace the others as take up the hunt more vigorously.¹⁰

Turberville, in chapter 38 "How to set Relays," gives an account of the preparations the night before and many details of place and action. The *Master of Game* (ch. xxxiv) emphasizes the as-

¹⁰ The editors of the *Master of Game* say also that the relay was not let go until both hart and following hounds had passed (see footnote to p. 169, and *App.* under "relays"), but the text does not seem to me wholly to justify this interpretation, or Turberville's chapter (38) on *Relays*. Certainly not all the pursuing hounds were allowed to pass before the relay was unleashed.

signment of relays—there were usually three at least—“by advice of them that know the country and the flight of the deer,” “the readiest hunters and the best footers with the boldest hounds with them” being placed “where most danger is.” From him also we know that at every relay there were “two couple of hounds, or three at the most.” Thus the relay consisted primarily of men, with hounds in leash to be let go on occasion, but “if the deer be likely to fall among danger,” that is run among the herd or to another deer, “it were good to assign some of the horsemen among the relays, to help more readily the hounds if they fall upon the stynt,” that is, lose the scent. “Danger” in the hunting sense was the difficulty arising from the hunted deer running among others of its kind, and so confusing the pursuing hounds.

Chaucer's *lymere* (362, 365), modern *limmer* or *lime-hound*, is rightly but not fully explained by Skeat as a “dog held in a *liam*, lime or leash.” When he adds “to be let loose when required,” Skeat has mistakenly confused the medieval lymer with the running hounds, while he seems otherwise ignorant of the special duty of this important animal. The lymer was the tracking hound, trained to scent out game for the hunt, to “move” or start it when hunted, and to regain the scent again if it were lost by the running hounds. He was most strictly required to avoid any other than game animals, and especially not to bark or bay when on duty. When tracking he was held by a leash “three fathoms and a half” in length to give him some leeway—“be it ever so wise a limer it sufficeth”¹¹—but was not otherwise let loose.¹²

¹¹ *Master of Game*, ch. xx, p. 126. Twici explains the use of the lymer more fully by having his questioner ask (Dryden's modernization of the Middle English text p. 20): “‘Now I would wish to know how many of the beasts are dislodged by the lymer, and how many of the beasts are found by the braches.’ Sir, all those which are chased are dislodged by the lymer; and all those which are hunted up are found by the braches.” He has also told us just before that the hare “is chased” and the hart, wolf and boar. So also the *Craft of Venery*, a MS. of about 1450 (A. Dryden, p. 105): “‘Syr, how many bestis ben there encashed?’ iij, the hert, the hare, the bere, the wolfe,” where *bere* is probably an error for *bore* by the *e-o* confusion as often in MSS.

¹² See the same ch. xxxiv, p. 174: “For by right the lymer should never out of the rope, though he slip from ever so far.” Indeed the oldest hunting treatise in Old French, *La Chace dou Serf*, written about 1250, advises tying up the lymer, at least while blowing the call for the hounds. In Dryden's translation it reads:

The lymer was of no particular breed, but his training required early separation from the other hounds, intimate association with his master, and long exercise in his particular duties. His lime, or leash, as distinct from the "couple" of a hound, was "made of leather of a horse skin well tawed," although for ornamental purposes it might be of white, or green and white silk, or of white leather.¹³ It was attached to a collar which might be in later times—probably not for actual hunting—of white or crimson velvet, and even embroidered with pearls. The lime, or leash was fastened to the collar by means of a swivel, or a *toret* as Chaucer calls it in the *Knight's Tale* (C. T. A. 2152), and this was sometimes of silver.¹⁴ This indicates that a good lymer was a choice dog, affectionately regarded by his master or mistress. Chaucer's use of the plural *lymeres* is also right in connection with medieval hunting. The lymer which started the game could not be in every place in which a tracking hound might be needed. While his master did follow the hunt as well as he could, other lymers were placed where they were likely to be needed. The *Master of Game* is explicit in ch. xxxiv, p. 166:

And see that amid the relays, somewhat toward the hindermost relay, especially if it be in danger, that one of the lymerer's pages be there with one of the lymers. And the more danger, the older and the readier and the most tender nosed hound.

When Chaucer says that "at the forest-syde"

Every man did right anon
As to hunting fil to doon,

he illustrates with several actions in entire accord with hunting practice. He has, it is true, omitted the usual use of the lymer in

"Cross (or pass over) the lair until you have dislodged him [the hart], and then tie your hound [that is the lymer as shown by the preceding sentence] up to a branch, and then you shall blow the call, three long notes, to have your hounds." See a figure of the lymer in A. Dryden's Twici's *Le Art de Venerie* (p. 95) from a MS. of Gaston de Foix. On the other hand Dryden says in his note 18 (p. 52 of the A. Dryden edition of *Twici*): "The lymer after the unharbouring, was frequently allowed to join in the pursuit when the pack came up with the huntsman," although I do not so find it in the early treatises.

¹³ *Mast. of Game, App.*, under limer.

¹⁴ Madden, *Privy Expenses of Princess Mary*, in *App. to Master of Game*.

"moving," or starting the game, perhaps because he had already mentioned that important animal. Besides, the lymer was sometimes not used "if the deer be stirring in the quarter, and have not waited for the moving of the lymer"—*Master of Game*, ch. xxxiv, p. 167. And again in the chapter "Of the Manner of Hunting when the King will Hunt" (xxxvi), the action begins at once with the blowing of "the three long notes for the uncoupling" by the master of game, Chaucer's *mayster-hunte*. This, at any rate, is the practice in Chaucer's king's hunt. Following immediately on the lines quoted at the beginning of this paragraph he adds:

The mayster-hunte anoon, fot-hoot,
With a gret horne blew three moot
At the uncoupling of his houndes.

Perhaps the *fot-hoot* 'hastily' of Chaucer is intended to indicate the more rapid beginning of the king's hunt in this place, or perhaps the lymer's part is included in the general *within a whyl* of the next line (378). Here, too, *mayster-hunte* 'master-hunt' is a technical term later displaced by *master of game* or *master of the hunt*, but reappearing in the seventeenth century in the Earl of Monmouth's Boccalini's *Advertisements from Parnassus* (1656): "Zenophon, Apollos master-hunt." This far earlier use by Chaucer is not recorded in the *NED*. Probably we should also consider *gret horn* 'great horn' in this place a technical compound from allusions in the brief original chapter of the *Master of Game*, ch. xxii "How a Hunter's Horn should be Driven." There the Duke of York tells us,

There are divers kinds of horns, that is to say bugles, great Abbot's, hunter's horns, ruets, small forester's horns, and meaner horns of two kinds. That one kind is waxed with green wax and greater of sound, and they be best for good hunters.

Just what were the "great abbots," as I judge the name should be written, is not clear, but the distinction between great and small horns is evident enough. The brief chapter closes with another reference to small horns:

As for horns for fewerers and woodmen I speak not, for every small horn and other mean horn unwaxed be good enough for them.

It may be added that Gower also uses *grete hornes* in speaking of Actæon's hunt (*Conf. Amant.* I, 343), the term having no source in the original Latin.

If there were space it would be interesting to consider more exactly the difficult word *moot* (376), usually defined as 'a note upon a horn' (Skeat's glossary), without more specific and correct reference to hunting language. At least that *moot* is not wholly equivalent to a single note seems indicated by Turberville. Among his several "measures for blowing" he pictures that of "the uncoupling of the coverte side" as a succession of four-four-four-two-one notes, "to be blown with three windes," that is repeated three times. I wonder whether *moot* (*mot*) is not one or more notes blown with one breath, or wind, a more or less complicated blast of the horn, as would seem to be indicated by other of Turberville's "Measures of blowing set downe in the notes for the more ease and ready help of such as are desirous to learne the same."¹⁵ One regrets that the Duke of York did not fulfil his promise to write "a chapter that shall be of all blowing," that is of all kinds (see p. 170). Of course there is always a possibility that the "measures" differed in different periods. In any case Chaucer is using the hunting term correctly, as well as the specific signal *three moot*, for the uncoupling of the running hounds in actual pursuit of the deer. On the other hand, the earliest use of the term, as cited by the *NED.*, is by Chaucer's Northern contemporary the author of *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.¹⁶

"The uncoupling of the houndes" at the blowing of the "three moot" is followed by three actions indicated by three technical words, two of which occur in Chaucer for the first time, although the *NED.* gives him credit for the earliest use of one only. These actions are the *finding*, *hallowing*, and *rechasing* of the deer, indicated by Chaucer's *y-founde*, *y-halowed*, and *rechased*. The "finding" of the hart refers not to the starting of him by the lymer, but to the discovery by the hounds themselves after he has begun to run. For

¹⁵ See the plates at the close of the book.

¹⁶ Chaucer is quite in accord with the Duke of York's direction (*Mast. of Game* ch. xxxvi, p. 190): "And when the king is at his standing or at his tryste, whichever he prefers, and the master of game or his lieutenant have set the bows and assigned who shall lead the Queen to her tryste, then he shall blow the three long motes for the uncoupling."

this purpose certain hounds were especially set apart, as indicated by the *Master of Game* (ch. xxxiv, p. 167):

And always should the yeoman berner [the man in charge of the hounds], the which is ordained to be the finder, follow the lymer and be as nigh him as he might with the raches [the running hounds] that he leadeth for the finding.

And again in the same place,

But now to come again to the lymer, it is to wit that when the lymer hath moved him, if the lymerer shall see him he shall blow a mote and re chase, and if the deer be soule [that is, alone] the bernes shall uncouple all the finders.¹⁷

The *hallow* (*halloo*), which is connected with the verb used by Chaucer, is not specifically treated by the Duke of York, although frequently mentioned. Turbervile, on the other hand, in chap. 13, p. 31, tells us that the hounds must be taught "to know the Hallowe as well by the horne as by the mouth." Then follows a description of the manner of teaching them. The hallow was distinct from the hunting cries, or words of encouragement or caution, which are given here and there in both the *Master of Game* and Turbervile's *Booke of Hunting*. See the *Appendix* to the former under "Hunting Cries." The verb *hallow* in specific hunting meaning occurs first in *Cursor Mundi* (15833), although there in a figurative sense, Chaucer seems to have first used it in an actual hunting scene. The first use of the noun *hallowing* in the same sense is in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, probably composed a few years before the *Book of the Duchess*.¹⁸ Chaucer's *y-halowed*, then, from OF. *haloer* (*halouer*), means specifically 'to set on the dogs with the hallow (*halloo*)' after the "finding."

¹⁷ Turbervile does not explicitly mention the finder or finders, but explains the action in this way on p. 106: "Then when the Prince or Master of the game is come, and the houndes for the crie, all the horsemen must quickly cast abroad about the covert, to discover ye Harte when he rowzeth and goeth out of his hold, yt they may the better know him afterward by the cote and by his head." On the next page he has the expression, "Until ye Deare be descried and rightly marked."

¹⁸ It is noteworthy that the hunting cries given in the *Master of Game* are still in most cases in their Old French form, although Chaucer, thirty years earlier, used some of them in the English of his *Leg. of Good Wom.* 1213. In Turbervile the English terms are always used.

The third action of the hunt following the uncoupling of the hounds is indicated by Chaucer's *rechased*, on which Skeat has the following note: "Headed back. Men were posted at various places to keep the hart within bounds." Few of Skeat's notes are more misleading. Etymologically *rechase* did mean 'chase back or again,' but *rechased faste Longe tyme* can not mean 'chased back a long time,' but rather 'chased, pursued, hunted fast a long time,' the prefix *re-* having here no more force than in *receive*, *request*. It is true that, especially in contrast with *chase*, the word did have the meaning of 'chase back or again,' as shown by examples in the *NED.*, but not in this place or many others that might be cited, as often in the *Master of Game*. Again, in medieval hunting the word had the derivative meaning 'to blow the measure indicating the chase or hunt, to rally and take up the hunt,' and this, accompanied by the action of pursuit, is the meaning in the *Master of Game*. The call to *rechase* (*rechace*) was blown "when the lymer hath moved him" [the hart or other game] (p. 168); when the deer has passed a relay and the hounds of the relay take up the hunt (p. 169); when, after trying every device to escape, the deer finally stands at bay and the last onset is made (p. 173).

The *NED.* is wrong here also in giving the meaning to Chaucer's *rechase*—the first citation of the word—"to chase (a deer) back into the forest." The second quotation, one from Caxton's *Jason* (*EETS* ed. p. 23), should have shown *rechased* was used in the simple sense of 'pursued.' There, *rechased his enmyes unto nyghe by the ooste* means no more than *chaced hem unto the grete ooste* of the preceding paragraph. In the *Craft of Venery* also (MS. of about 1450 in A. Dryden's *Twici*, p. 107) we have: "When he (the hare in this case) is stert, thou schalt rechase apou the houndez iij times;" that is, give the call of *rechase* (*rechace*) to urge on the houndes.

It should be noted that *rechase* has the same meaning and use in hunting as Norman French *recheat*, which from 'take back or again' had come to mean 'take to oneself, assemble, rally,' with disregard of the *re-* in most cases. Not used by Chaucer it appears in the contemporaneous *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, with the same idea of 'rallying to pursue the game.' There, the shortened

rechated means 'rallied to pursue' the boar when he has broken from covert (1446), when he has again been driven from bay (1466), and in the form *rechatande* 'rallying, sounding the rally' for the hunters at the death of the fox (1911). For this word *recheat* (*rechat*, *rechet*) the *NED.* gives the correct meaning as a noun in 'the act of calling together the hounds [properly men and hounds] to begin or continue the chase of the stag [or other game], or at the close of the hunt.' Turberville figures this *rechate* in his "measures for blowing." For the signal itself in the body of his *Booke* he uses "blow for the hounds" (p. 108), or "blowe a Rechate to their houndes to comforte them" (p. 111).

There remain to be explained two parts of the action in Chaucer's hunting scene. On *rused* (381) Skeat has no note, but his glossary misleads by his 'roused herself, rushed away' for this place. The *NED.* gives the correct meaning and etymology 'to make a detour or other movement in order to escape from the hounds,' OF. *ruser*, with this Chaucer quotation first. The word is frequent in the *Master of Game*, as in chapters iii, v, xxxi, among others. The hart has turned suddenly from his course to throw the hounds from the track. Doubtless something like that described in the *Master of Game* (ch. iii, p. 31) has taken place: "He maketh a ruse on some side, and there he stalleth or squatteth until the hounds be forth." Or it may be he had let the hounds and hunters pass, and then doubled upon his track and run back the way he came. In any case, the hart "stal away . . . a prevy way," as Chaucer puts it.¹⁹

The hart's ruse results in a second action of the hunt at this point. The running hounds do not at first perceive the deer's change, "overshoot" the scent, and so lose it for a time. Besides, in *over-shote* (383) of this realistic scene, Chaucer again uses for the first time another hunting term in its technical sense. This he follows by still another technical word of the hunt when he adds of the hounds, they "were on a defeaute y-falle," the first example of *de-fault* in its hunting sense in our literature. Skeat defines the phrase

¹⁹ The *Master of Game* deals with ruses of the hart in the same chapter "Of the Hart and his Nature," especially on p. 30 where he begins "An old hart is wonder wise and felle ('cunning') for to save his life." Turberville, in chap. 40 "Certaine observations and sottleties to be used by Huntresmen in hunting an Harte at force," mentions many "sottleties" of the hart to escape his pursuers, and the procedure in such cases.

on a defeaute y-falle as 'had a check,' and the *Master of Game* regularly uses the native expression *on a stynt* 'at a stop' (pp. 169, 170), and *fall upon the stynt* (p. 165). The hunting game is temporarily at a standstill. The hounds, it is true, would soon perceive that the scent was lost, and would go about, often aimlessly, to find it. If they fail, as they must have done in this case, the lymer, or tracking hound must be brought up to find the scent again and put the running hounds "to rights." That the hunt was temporarily stayed at this time is clear from the lines which follow at once:

Therwith the hunte, wonder faste,
Blew a forloyn at the laste.

The word *forloyn* has been almost as badly treated as Chaucer's *embosed* of this passage. The *NED.* says 'a note of recall,' with this use in Chaucer as the first quotation. Skeat says, with less certitude, 'a recall (as I suppose; for it was blown when the hounds were all a long way off their object of pursuit).' He follows this with a none too clear quotation from the *Book of St. Albans*. In fact the *Book of St. Albans* illustrates only one of several meanings of the word. Etymologically *forloyn*, OF. *fort* + *logne*, is an adverb, meaning as Cotgrave gives it 'verie farre off (a hunting term).' Often, perhaps usually, the derived noun meant that the hounds were far off the scent, away from the hunted animal, as also the measure blown on the horn to indicate that fact—the use in this place. But *forloyn* might mean that one hound, with the deer, had outstripped all the others, as indicated by the verb in this passage from Turbervile (p. 245):

When a hound meeteth a chase [that is a hunted animal] and goeth away with it farre before the rest, then we say he *forloyneth*. Again, if a hunter had lost track of the chase, or as the *Master of Game* says (p. 173), if he have

been at any time out of hearing of hound and horn, he should have blown the *forloyn*; . . . and whoso first heard him so blow should have blown to him the 'perfect,' if it be so that he were in his rights;

that is, on the right track of the hunted animal. All these meanings,

it will be seen, easily go back to the adverbial 'verie farre off' of Cotgrave and Old French, here become a noun *forloyn*.

Light is thrown on the development of meaning by that of the ME. verb *forloinen*. This meant transitively 'to leave very far off, to forsake,' and intransitively—doubtless the earlier—'be very far off, stray, err.' Both transitive and intransitive uses occur in the *Clannesse* of Chaucer's contemporary. Further illustrations of the *forloyn* may be cited from the English *Twici* (A. Dryden, p. 23), which also gives the signal on the horn:

And afterwards, when they are gone ahead of you, you ought to call in the manner as I tell you; you ought to blow trout, trout, trou-rourout, trout, trout, trou-rourourout, trou-rourourout, trou-rourourout. 'Hunter, why do you blow in that manner?' Because I was on my right [line, or course], and the Hart is unharboured, and I do not know what has become of the hounds, nor of the company; and for this I blow in that manner. 'And what chase do we call this?' We call that chase the chase of *Forloyn*g.

So the *Craft of Venery* (A. Dryden, p. 108):

And when he [the hart] is fer fro me y schall blow in other maner, & that is this, trout, trout, trrororout, trout, trout, trrororout, trrorororout, v tymes this last mote. 'Syre hunttere, whi blowest thou thus?' For as muche as y have no knowyng, but am al uncerten where the hert is bycome, & y wote never where myn houndez bun bycom, ne the men, & therfore y woll blow in this maner. . . . 'Syre, what maner chace clepe that?' We clepen it chace *forloyne*.

In the passage before us it is the deer that has stolen away, the dogs that are very far off, and *forloyn* the signal means that a check, stynt, or default has resulted. Chaucer himself interpreted the situation in lines 539-41:

'Sir,' quod I, 'this game is doon;
I holde that this hert is goon,—
Thise huntres conne him nowher see.'

The *forloyn*, therefore, is nat strictly a recall, as Skeat surmized and the *NED.* says with confidence. How entirely the *forloyn* indicated a check or delay in the hunt is clear from Turbervile (p. 108):

If it shoulde happen that the Harte, turning counter uppon the houndes in the thicket, had come amongst chaunge, then let all the

hundesmen menace and rate their houndes, and couple them up againe untill they have gone backe eyther to the layre, or to [the] last blemish made upon any Slotte or viewe [that is, of the hart], and so hunt on againe untill they may finde the Harte.

If the difficulty were great the lymer was called up, as I have said, the lymerer having followed the chase in the more open ground, according to Turbervile in the same chapter, "to helpe them at default if neede require." The *Master of Game* is equally explicit regarding the check to the hunt (p. 170):

And if it be great danger (that is, a serious default as the context shows), they ought to blow a mote for the lymer and let him sue till he hath retrieved him, or else till he hath brought him [the hunted hart] out of danger [that is, out from among the other deer].

It may be assumed that when a check resulted from the loss of the scent in any other way, the procedure was essentially the same.

The discussion so far shows that Chaucer was describing the hunting scene in the *Book of the Duchess* with much more of realism than has usually been supposed. How then must we understand his further account, the dropping of the hunt for a considerable time, and the return to it at the close of the poem? Now there is no evidence that Chaucer was actively engaged in the hunt. Skeat, it is true, explains *my tree* of line 387 by saying, Chaucer "dreamed that he was one of the men posted to watch which way the hart went, and to keep the bounds." This seems to me wholly impossible, since it would imply an almost menial service for a king's valet. Indeed, the *Master of Game* (p. 188) tells us explicitly that the "stable," or men set to keep the boundaries, were "set by the foresters or parkers," and must themselves have been under-foresters or woodmen. Nor is there any indication that Chaucer was an attendant of the king in this king's hunt,²⁰ since in that case he

²⁰ Such a position would have been entirely proper for Chaucer in 1369, but would have made impossible such freedom of action as he had planned for his poem. Besides, the *Master of Game* (p. 190) shows that special care was taken for the disposition of the king and queen with their attendants:

"For it is to be known that the attendants of his [the king's] chamber and of the queen's should be best placed, and the two fewterers ought to make fair lodges of green boughs at the tryste to keep the king and the queen and the ladies and gentlewomen, and also the greyhounds, from the sun and bad weather."

could not have been free to act as he did. We must assume he dreamed of being an unattached observer, and meant by "my tree" merely the one at which he had stationed himself to view the hunt as an on-looker. Since the *forloyn*, or check, in the hunt has occurred—a check that might even mean the end of the hunt for that day—Chaucer feels free to wander off through the wood. The *forloyn* is thus used in the poem for an artistic purpose.

May I pause to note in this relation Professor Kittredge's explanation of "the quality of artlessness or naïvete" in the *Book of the Duchess* (*Chaucer and his Poetry*, ch. ii) as a sort of "dream psychology," an explanation that has continued to seem very attractive. Here Professor Kittredge applies it particularly to the lack of further reference to the horse on which Chaucer rode to the *forest-syde*, and to the whelp which, the poet says, "cam by me," "fauned me as I stod," and ran away when he tried to catch it. The minute accuracy of Chaucer's description of the hunt perhaps suggests some modification of a most interesting exposition. Reference to Turbervile would seem to show that horsemen were regularly supplied with pages for their horses, and that they often took up their positions on foot. Thus (p. 101-2) horsemen of the relay

shall place their houndes in some faire place at the foote of some tree, forbiding [that is bidding] the varlet that he uncouple them not without their knowledge and commaundement. . . . Then shall they go three or foure hundreth paces from thence on that side that the hunting is ordeined, and shall hearken if they heare any thing or can discover the Harte. . . . As also the horseman shall withdraw himselfe aside for another reason. And that is because the pages and they which holde the horses do commonly make such a noyse that he can not heare the crye.

Perhaps Chaucer felt he could not make poetic material of such a page as he must have had in this age of many servants.

The incident regarding the young hound,

That hadde y-followed and coude no good,

is somewhat different. A young hunting hound was too valuable to be lost, as shown by the discussion of the various kinds of hunt. Under such circumstances, Chaucer a king's attendant could not have withdrawn, even for the sorrows of a prince.

ing dogs and their elaborate care in the *Master of Game* and Turbervile. Young hounds, too, naturally trained with the old dogs as Turbervile tells us on p. 36, were also sometimes employed in the regular hunt, as implied on p. 103. Now the blowing of the forloyn, as already indicated, meant the coupling of the hounds. It was the most natural thing, therefore, that the poet, seeing such a hound running loose "wolde han caught hit," not perhaps as Professor Kittredge assumes "to take him up in his arms,"²¹ but to turn over to some keeper for coupling up until the hounds were again let loose on the track of the hart. On the other hand, Chaucer's whelp was to run away for a particular purpose, leading the poet into a deep forest away from the hunt, and finally to a prince of the blood. When he came upon the latter, clearly in distress, even a valuable hound might be disregarded.

Before this latter event leads Chaucer, somewhat tardily as in his early manner, to the real subject of the poem, he was to give some further evidence of acquaintance with hunting terms. Along with the native names of the deer he sees in the wood—the *hert*, *hind*, *buck*, *doe*, *roe*—Chaucer uses for the first time in our literature, so far as the *NED*. quotations indicate, the Anglo-French *foun* (OF. *faon*) 'fawn, young deer of the first year,' and *sour* 'sore, a buck of the fourth year.'²² Moreover, whether Chaucer was the first to use these words or not, we can hardly believe he did not employ them in their exact hunting significance.

When Chaucer came upon the "man in blak," whom we know as John of Gaunt the bereaved husband of Blanche of Lancaster, the hunt is entirely put aside for a time. It would have been distracting to us as to them if either poet or prince, in the interview which follows, should have been interrupted by hunting horns or hunting cries, by renewal of the chase, or by the clamor of hunts-

²¹ Quite possible for a running hound (*ratch*) if a *kenet*, but not likely with a greyhound or other variety of hunting dog.

²² Chaucer again used *foun* (*fown*) in *Troilus and Creseide* I, 465-8, where it has the figurative meaning of 'a new thought, or emotion conceived.' The passage reads:

Ne in him desyr noon othere fownes bredde
But arguments to this conclusioun,
That she on him wolde han compassioun.

This use of the word is not recorded in the *NED*.

men or hounds at the death. Yet, from the later reference we are now to discuss, it must be clear that the hunt went on. The ruse of the hart may be conceived to have led the hunters some distance away, or the poet's walk through the wood may have taken him far enough to be undisturbed. This is in entire accord with hunting possibilities, quite apart from the poet's right to subordinate the minor to the major action.

In the abrupt close of the poem, when the poet—for poetic purposes less quick than he must have been in life—finally understands the great loss of his patron and friend, the hunt is again introduced in the following lines:

And with that worde, right anoon
They gan to strake forth; al was doon
For that tyme, the hert-hunting.

On these lines Skeat has no comment, but *strake* is defined in his glossary as 'move, proceed,' with reference to this place, the only occurrence in Chaucer apparently.²⁸ Doubtless *strake forth* has

²⁸ The etymology of *strake* is difficult, as indicated by the *NED*. The special difficulty lies in the fact that we have not only a ME. strong verb *striken* with past tenses *strōke* and *strāke*, but two ME. weak verbs *strāken*—*strāked* and *strōken*—*strōked*, all with essentially the same meanings: 1) 'to go, move, proceed'; 2) 'to sound a horn (sometimes at least indicating movement).' The first, or strong verb is clearly OE. *strīcan* 'strike,' with an irregular past *strāke* beside the regular *strōke*, as we have today another irregular past *struck* in the same verb. For the *strāke* form cf. *drove* beside *droue*, even in Elizabethan English. These are not Nth. forms, since they clearly belong to the South as shown by many references. They may be shortened forms of the OE. pasts *drāf*, *strāc*.

Of *strāke* wk., with the meaning 'sound upon a horn,' the *NED*. says "of obscure origin." It regards the word as a hunting term only, failing to include *strāke* 'go, proceed' of *Piers Plowman's Crede* 82, or even this Chaucer example. For its etymology I suggest an unrecorded OE. wk. vb. *strācan* 'cause to go,' with derived intransitive meaning making it parallel in purport with OE. *strīcan*. Such a *strācan* by shortening of the root vowel would give ME. *strāke*, as OE. *wrāc* f. 'vengeance' with similar phonology gave ME. *wrāche*.

The wk. *strāke*, with meanings similar to those of the other verbs as in *Master of Game* pp. 194-5, is probably a descendant of OE. *strācian* 'stroke,' with special derived senses perhaps influenced by the other verbs. Such at least is a consistent and possible scheme for these difficulty words.

Incidentally, the *NED*. puts Malory's use of *strāke* (*Morte D'Arth.* X, lii) under the noun, such a noun as does occur in Turbervile under "Measures of Blowing" and elsewhere. Malory's example, however, is the infinitive of the verb. To Sir Tristrem is attributed the origin of all "measures of blowing,"

here the broader sense of 'proceed homeward,' as shown by the context. The hunt has ended for the day. Yet the abrupt transition from prince and poet to the hunters of lines 345-386—*they* of line 1312 must refer to the latter—requires some further explanation. How are the hunters and the king himself (1314) brought into more immediate contact with the somewhat distant poet? Or how had the hunt gone on, as we must believe it did, without disturbing the colloquy between the poet and the "man in blak," and yet now becomes evident to both?

The explanation is in the second meaning of *strake*, well authenticated by examples in our literature, although not given by Skeat. Just as *rechase*, *recheat* (*rechate*), and *forloyn* mean both the act itself and the corresponding signal upon the hunter's horn, so *strake* means not only 'proceed, go homeward,' but 'sound the signal for proceeding,' in this case going home after the killing of the hart. The situation is explained by this passage from the *Master of Game* (ch. xxxiv, pp. 178-9):

And when there is nought left [that is after the rewarding of the hounds] then shall the lord, if he wishes, or else the master of the game or in his absence whoso is greatest next him stroke in this wise, that is to say blow four motes and stynt not half an Ave Maria, and then blow other four motes a little longer than the first four motes. And thus should no wight stroke but when the hart is slain with strength. And when one of the aforesaid hath thus blown, then should the grooms couplé up the hounds and draw homeward fair and soft. And all the rest of the hunters should stroke in this wise: "Trut, trut, tro-ro-row, tro-ro-row," and four motes all of one length, not too long and not too short. And otherwise should no hart hunter stroke from thenceforth till they go to bed.²⁴

That such signaling was kept up on the journey home is not only and these are enumerated as follows: "First to the uncoupling, to the seeing, to the rechate, to the flight, to the death, and to strake." Here to *strake*, not to *the strake* it will be noticed, is the measure blown as the hunters set out homeward after the hunt, the meaning derived from the literal one of going homeward itself. To *strake* also meant 'to proceed to the field,' or 'from covert to covert,' as shown by Turberville's "measures" which gives the accompanying signals upon the horn. In Malory, too the *rechate* can not be a 'recall' as ordinarily defined, but the rallying to the chase as I have defined it.

²⁴ This passage is one of the chapters original with the Duke of York, and thus clearly gives the English as distinct from the French practice.

implied by the *Master of Game*, but clearly stated in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* 1363-4 and 1922-3. I quote the latter:

And þenne þay helden to home, for hit watz nies nyst,
Strakande ful stoutly in hor store hornes.

Thus the noise of the hunt, which has been going on at a distance, again comes within hearing of the poet, and the character of the measure heard shows that the hunt is over for the day.³⁵

Again, another measure on the horn indicated that the king would hunt no more, as the *Master of Game* explains (ch. xxxvi, pp. 194-5):

And if the King will hunt no more then should the master of his game, if the King will not blow, blow a mote and stroke with a mote in the middle. And the sergeant, or whoso bloweth next him and no man else, should blow the first mote but only the middle, and so every man as often as he likes to stroke, if they have obtained that which they have hunted for. And the middle mote should not be blown save by him that bloweth next the master. And thereby may men know, as they hear men stroke homeward, whether they have well sped or not.

Thus Chaucer, still in the wood with the sorrowing prince, but hearing the appropriate signal for the return after the hunt, could add the lines beginning,

With that methoughte that the king
Gan [quickly] homeward for to ryde.

Thus, too, unity is given to the poem, not only through the character of the interview between the poet and prince, but through an entirely proper and explainable return to the hunt with which the dream began.

The castle to which the king rode was, as we know, a dream castle, the description playing upon the names of John of Gaunt, Lancaster, Blanche, and the Richmond connected with both John and his duchess in the period when the poem was written.³⁶ The

³⁵ Turbervile figures "A strake of nyne, to drawe home the companie. With twoo windes."

³⁶ In speaking of it as a dream castle I do not mean that there may not have been reminiscences of an actual castle or castles which Chaucer may have known. See Tupper in *Mod. Lang. Notes* xxxi, 250, 442; xxxii, 54.

castle suggested the bell, the stroke of twelve, and Chaucer awoke at midnight, to find the book he had been reading and resolve upon making his most important early poem.

One minor bit of possible realism remains to be mentioned. The hunt of which Chaucer dreamed is placed in May. Now the frequent use of May by the medieval poets is known to have been to some extent a convention. Here, for example, if the *Book of the Duchess* was written in 1369 as usually assumed, the opening of the scene in May must have been merely conventional. Yet it is not impossible that the poem was not composed before the spring of 1370. John of Gaunt was not home from command of the French expedition until November. If he requested Chaucer to write the poem, as Professor Kittredge suggests, the composition could not have been undertaken until late in the year, and the completion of the poem may well have reached into 1370. Or possibly the request of the bereaved husband was not made in the ecstasy of his grief, but some months after the Duchess Blanche had passed away. Be that as it may, the hunting of the hart in the month assigned may have had a realistic basis. The *Master of Game* (ch. iii, p. 35) informs us:

The harts have more power to run well from the entry of May into St. John's tide [June 24] than at any other time; for then they have put on new flesh and new hair and new heads for [that is, on account of] the new herbs and the new coming out of trees and of fruits, and be not too heavy. For as yet they have not recovered their grease, neither within nor without, nor their heads, wherefore they be much lighter and swifter.

There is therefore some reason to believe Chaucer was as realistic in this as in other respects, when describing the hunting scene of this poem.

Nor is it wholly impossible Chaucer has introduced still another realistic touch in his May hunt. The early failure of the hounds to keep the scent, the ease with which the hart had succeeded in his ruse, may have some relation to the time in which the hunt is placed. In the chapter "Of Running Hounds and their Nature," the *Master of Game* informs us that keeping the scent was more difficult in this very period. He says (ch. xiv, p. 112):

Also the hounds scent worse from May until St. John's time than in any other time of all the year, for as I shall say the burnt heath and the burning of fields taketh the scent from the hounds of the beasts that they hunt. Also in that time the herbs be best, and flowers in their smelling, each one in their kind, and when the hounds hope to scent the beast that they hunt, the sweet smelling of the herbs takes the scent of the beast from them.

I make no attempt to press these latter points, but it must be admitted the coincidence of these two characteristics of a May hunt might have had its basis in the same realism that has seemed so clear in the whole description of the hunting scene in the *Book of the Duchess*, and the realism that will appear in other passages in Chaucer's poetry still to be discussed.

The lines in the *Book of the Duchess* are the most explicit of those in which Chaucer deals with hunting. Yet here and there in other places are shorter passages relating to the subject, and in them some technical terms of the hunt, so that these also warrant some words of interpretation. The most considerable of these references are in the *Knight's Tale* which, although based on Boccaccio's *Teseide*, shows great freedom in the use of its source. Indeed, in the parts of the *Tale* with which I shall deal there are scarcely more than hints of the original. Chaucer has represented hunting as he knew it in his native land.

For example, in lines 780-88 (*C. T. A.* 1638-46), the allusion to Arcite's likeness to a lion, as he comes to fight with Palamon, is made more specific in relation to northern latitudes by addition of the bear.²⁷ The scene is then worked out more realistically as an actual hunting incident by the introduction of the spear, the standing at the gap in the wood (*gappe*, twice mentioned) through which the bear—*him* of 793 must refer to that animal rather than to the lion—comes rushing,

And breketh bothe bowes and the leves.

From him there is now no escape, and hunter or hunted must succumb as Arcite makes clear by his remark. So, to the likeness of Palamon to a lion and Arcite to a tiger in the fight, Chaucer has added, in line 800-1 (*C. T. A.* 1658-9), the realistic figure that would appeal to Englishmen more readily:

²⁷ Compare *Teseide* B⁷k vii, st. 106, 119.

As wylde bores gonne they to smyte,
That frothen whyte as foom for ire wood.

A still more important passage for which there is little basis in the *Teseide* (*K. T.* 815-37, *C. T. A.* 1673-95)²⁸ describes the coming of Theseus, the mighty hunter,

For after Mars he serveth now Diane.

One can but wonder, from the applicability of the whole scene, whether this is not also a reminiscence of Edward III and his characteristic fondness for war and hunting. In this passage we first meet the hunting term *grete hert* 'great hart, hart worthy to be hunted,' a compound not recognized by Skeat and the *NED.* but frequent in the *Master of Game* and not uncommon in other places. For instance chapters xxiii-v of the *Master of Game* all deal with "How a Man should know a Great Hart," and the following quotation (p. 131) indicates the specific use:

And also if a man find such a hart [a 'great hart and an old one' as already described], and men ask him what hart it is, he may answer that it is a hart chaceable of ten that should not be refused.

The compound is again used by Chaucer in line 823, when he mentions the "joye and appetyt" of Theseus,

To been himself the grete hertes bane.²⁹

Attention has already been called to the May time as one peculiarly appropriate for hunting the hart, so that it is not strange Theseus was especially "desirous" of hunting "the grete hert in May." Thus there is no lack of realism in his pursuing his own

²⁸ See *Teseide* v, 77-8. The scene in its distinctive references is practically all Chaucer's.

²⁹ The *NED.* gives to *great*, under *g*, the meaning 'grown up, full grown,' but cites first a quotation from Caxton's *Charles the Great*. The use in the above compound falls under that meaning, and the example in Chaucer is one of the earliest I have found. Compare also *Destr. of Troy* 13557:

A grete herte in a grove, goond hym one;

and Gower, *Conf. Aman.* I, 2299,

The grete hert anon was founde.

Turbervile (ch. 37, p. 100) has *great deer* in the same sense: "But if he find Slot that seem of a great Deare, he may say a Hart of ten without any addition of words."

purpose, and still coming upon Arcite and Palamon, the former of whom had gone out for another reason,

For to doon his observaunce to May,
Remembring on the poynt of his desyre.

Again, it is perhaps a knowledge of English hunting that made Chaucer represent Theseus as riding "to the launde," or plain,

For thider was the hert wont have his flight.

This, at least, would fit in with what the *Master of Game* tells us in chapter iii, p. 36:

And all the time from rutting time [middle of Sept. to middle of Oct.] into Whitsunday great deer and old will be found in the plains.

The "clothed al in grene" of line 828, applying to Theseus, the Queen and Emily and for which there is nothing in the original *Teseide*, is doubtless another realistic touch of Chaucer's time. By the time of Turbervile hunting dress seems to have changed or been less regarded, but his reference to the matter is proof of the earlier custom: He says in chap. 38, p. 101:

Phoebus³⁰ sayth that they ought to be clad in greene when they hunt the Hart or Bucke, and in russet when they hunt the Bore, but that is of no great importance, for I remitte the coloures to the fantasies of men.

In the same passage of the *Knight's Tale* also occurs the specific hunting phrase "han a cours . . . with houndes," that is 'have a run (at a hart) with hounds,' for which this Chaucer quotation is the first cited by the *NED*.

In lines 1290-94 (*C. T. A.* 2148-52) Chaucer is responsible for introducing the English hunting dogs, the "whyte alaunts" "as

³⁰ Gaston de Foix, called from his manly beauty Gaston Phoebus, wrote the *Livre de Chasse* on which the Duke of York's *Master of Game* was based.

The Knight's "yeman" in the *Prologue* to the *Canterbury Tales* (100 ff.), whom Chaucer guesses to be "a forster" and is shown to be a hunter by his bow and arrows, his horn and "bawdrik," has also his "cote and hood of grene." So the apparently similar "gay yeman" of the *Friar's Tale* (*C. T. D.* 1380 ff.), besides his similar bow and arrows, has his "courtepy of grene," while his hat was probably also of that color, though "with frenges blake."

grete as any steer,"⁸¹ to the description of which the *Master of Game* gave chapter xvi. He confirms Chaucer regarding their color by saying (p. 116):

And though there be alauntes of all hues, the true hue of a good alaunte, and that which is most common, should be white, with black spots about the ears.

That the *mozel* 'muzzle' of 1293 was also important for such an animal, the chapter fully implies, especially the sentence,

In all manner of ways alauntes are treacherous and evil understanding, and more foolish and more harebrained than any other kind of hound.

Such traits the author confirms by saying, "For men have seen alauntes slay their masters." The "colors of gold" on the alaunts are quite in accord with what we have been told of those sometimes placed on valuable lymers. The "torets," a word first used by Chaucer, were swivels to allow free play of the leash as already explained, not 'small rings on the collar of a dog' as in Skeat's glossary.⁸² One further touch of English hunting interests occurs in describing the feast given by Theseus, before the tournament, to Palamon, Arcite and their supporters from many countries. This feast the poet refrains from describing at length, but among other details alludes to

⁸¹ On this passage A. S. Cook has an elaborate and interesting note in "The Last Months of Chaucer's Earliest Patron" (*Trans. of Conn. Acad. of Arts and Sciences* xxi, 128 ff.). He there suggests that Chaucer first saw alaunts at the wedding feast of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, in Milan June 5, 1368. Apart from the uncertainty about Chaucer's being at that feast, the suggestion rests on the idea that there could have been no alaunts in England before 1381 when the *Knight's Tale* was written. The latter fact seems to me as unlikely as that there were no lymers in England before Chaucer wrote the *Book of the Duchess*, because Chaucer in that poem is the first to have used the name in English. At any rate our main purpose here is to point out that the allusion to the alaunts is original with Chaucer, and that it apparently falls in with his considerable knowledge of medieval hunting.

⁸² Skeat does refer to the other form of the word, *turret* found in the description of the *Astrolabe*, and a note by Warton "which seems to make the word equivalent to a swivel." The *NED.* defines it clearly as 'a swivel ring on a dog's collar.' The word *toret* (*turret*) 'little tower' had acquired this secondary meaning because the ring was set and moved in a little tower-like structure fixed in the collar itself. For these two examples in Chaucer the meaning should be, 'a swivel ring set in a tower-like form.'

What haukes sitten on the perche above,
What houndes liggen on the floor adoun,

as they perhaps often did in Edward Third's castle halls. The *Teseide* (vi, st. 8) mentions hounds, falcons, goshawks, but the scene in this and other particulars is essentially English.

A brief hunting scene occurs in the *Franklin's Tale* (C. T. F. 1189-97), where Aurelius is shown by the magician:

Forestes, parkes ful of wilde deer;
Ther saugh he hertes with hir hornes hye,—
He saugh of hem an hondred slayn with houndes,
And somme with arwes blede of bittre woundes.

Then follow three lines devoted to hawking, with which we are not dealing in this paper. The hunting part is true to English practice, deer being run down by the hounds or killed by bowmen stationed at various places along the course of the hunt. Of the use of the bow *La Chace dou Serf* tells us (Dryden's translation, p. 130):

Make your varlets carry bows, for no one ought to kill the hart with a sword after he is frayed [that is, after the hart's antlers are well grown, implying full growth of the animal]. I advise you that you shoot from afar.

The Franklin himself, it will be remembered (*Prol.* 347-8),

After the sondry sesons of the yeer
So chaunged he his mete and his soper,

a change doubtless partly dependent upon hunting.

Among significant references to hunting in the *Canterbury Tales* one must not forget the description of the Monk, since with total disregard of the canons of the church,

He yaf nat of that text a pulled hen,
That seith that hunters been nat holy men.³⁸

He was, we remember (*Prol.* 166-92),

An out-rydere that lovede venerye;

Therefore he was a pricasour aright;
Grehoundes he hadde as swifte as fowel in flight;

³⁸ Compare my article "Some of Chaucer's Lines on the Monk," *Mod. Phil.* i, 105.

Of priking and of hunting for the hare
Was al his lust, for no cost wolde he spare.

Here *pricasour*, for which Chaucer is alone responsible, whatever its exact etymology must mean 'hunter,' as the *NED.* suggests with a 'perhaps,' rather than merely a 'hard rider' as Skeat defines it. So *priking* is not simply 'riding,' but 'riding in the hunt,' and here more specifically 'tracking (the hare).'²⁴ Probably the use of the word in this latter meaning depends on the swiftness of the hare in her flight, for the *Master of Game* (ch. xxxv, p. 181) calls the hare "the king of all venery." Turberville, in some verses before chap. 58, p. 160, makes her say,

For running swift, and holding out at length,
I beare the bell above all other beasts.

Very properly, therefore, Chaucer provided the Monk with greyhounds "as swifte as fowel in flight."

The Monk's fondness for hunting the hare, rather than some other animal, depended not on her swiftness alone. The Duke of York not only introduced the hare first among animals to be hunted, but says (ch. ii, p. 14):

Much good sport and liking is the hunting of her, more than that of any other beast that any man knoweth. . . . And that for five reasons. The one is, for her hunting lasteth all the year as with running hounds without any sparing, and this is not with all the other beasts. And also men hunt at her both in the morning and in the evening. . . . That other reason is . . . for hounds must need find her by mastery, and quest point by point. . . . And when she is started it is a fair thing. And then it is a fair thing to slay her with strength of hounds, for she runneth long and ginnously [that is, cunningly].

Turberville is equally strong in praise of hare hunting (ch. 59, p. 162):

I might well maintaine that of all chases the Hare maketh greatest pastime and pleasure, and sheweth most cunning in hunt-

²⁴ See *Master of Game* ch. xvi, p. 116: "If a man prick a horse," that is, 'hunt a horse.' The noun *pricking* meant 'the footprints of a hare,' as in *M. of G.* ch. xxxv, p. 185. For *pricasour* we may also compare Turberville's "a good priker or huntsman on horsebacke" (ch. 38, p. 101).

ing, and is meetest for gentlemen of all other huntings, for that they may find them at all times and hunt them at most seasons of the yeare, and that with small charges.

Twici's *Art of Venerie* begins with the hare, and explains it as follows (Dryden's modernization of the Middle English text, p. 19) :

Now will we begin with the Hare. 'And why, Sir, will you begin with the Hare, rather than with any other beast?' I will tell you; because she is the most marvellous beast which is on this earth; . . . and since all the fine terms [of hunting] are based upon it (that is, upon the chase of the hare).

Again, Chaucer follows English custom of the period when he has the Monk possess "grehoundes" for coursing the hare. The *Master of Game* says explicitly (ch. ii, p. 22) :

Men slay hares with greyhounds and with running hounds by strength as here in England, but elsewhere they slay them also with small pockets, and with purse-nets, and with small nets with hare-pipes, and with long nets, and with small cords. . . . But, truly, I trow, no good hunter would slay them so for any good.⁸⁸

The modern editors of the *Master of Game* remind us, too (see Hare, *App.* p. 122), that hunting customs have changed since Chaucer's time, greyhounds being no longer used in hare hunting.

Some minor allusions in the *Canterbury Tales* indicate Chaucer's acquaintance with specific terms of hunting, or with the lore of game animals. In the *Shipman's Tale*, line 194 (*C. T. B.* 1294) reads,

As in a forme sit a wery hare,

where *forme* is the hunter's name for the lair of a hare. Skeat has no note, but Turberville explains in his chapter 59 "Of the Subtilties of an Hare when she is Runne and Hunted" (p. 165) :

I have also seene an Hare runne and stande up two houres before a kennell of houndes, and then she hath started and rayased an other freshe Hare out of her forme and set her selfe downe therin.

So in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* 517 (*C. T. B.* 4527) it is said of the fox,

For yet ne was ther no man that him sewed,

⁸⁸ The expressions "As here in England" and "Truly I trow etc." are the Duke of York's additions to the original of Gaston de Foix.

where *sewed* 'sued' is used in its specific sense of 'pursued as game.'

Passages in the *Friar's Tale* 71 ff. (C. T. D. 1369 ff.) and the *Merchant's Tale* 769-70 (C. T. E. 2013-14) show Chaucer using another hunting term for the first time, a *dog for the bow*. They are, in the order above:

For in this world nis dogge for the bowe,
That can an hurt deer from an hool y-knowe
Bet than this Somnour knew a sly lechour,
Or an avouter, or a paramour;

and of Damien the young lover,

And eek to Januarie he gooth as lowe,
As ever dide a dogge for the bowe.

Skeat's notes on "dogge for the bowe" in these passages are valuable, but leave something to be desired. Such a dog was especially trained to accompany the bowman on a deer hunt, in order to follow and bring down a stricken deer only. Unlike a running hound, he must be absolutely subservient to his master, as silent as a lymer, making his attack only when so ordered, and only upon a deer already wounded by the bowman's arrow. The latter careful discrimination is indicated in the first passage, with figurative application to the Summoner. The quality of subservience is shown in the second quotation, to illustrate which the *CtDict.* refers to T. L. O. Davies, *Supplementary English Glossary* (1881), and says: "Such dogs, being well trained and obedient, were taken to typify humble and subservient people."

In the *Maunciple's Tale* 79-82 (C. T. H. 183-6) is a noteworthy bit of folklore regarding one of the game animals:

A she-wolf hath also a vileins kinde;
The lewedeste wolf that she may finde,
Or least of reputacion wol she take
In tyme whan hir lust to han a make.

This allusion Skeat asserts with great definiteness is taken from *Romance of the Rose* 7799-7804. Such may be the source but, as Skeat admits, it occurs in an entirely different part of that work

from the lines used in the *Maunciple's Tale* just before. It is interesting, therefore, that a fuller account of this supposed characteristic of the she-wolf occurs in the *Master of Game*, chap. vii, pp. 54-5, so that this bit of animal lore may have been known to Chaucer, as to hunter and forester in England, quite apart from any literary source.³⁶

Apart from the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Canterbury Tales*, some significant references to hunting are to be found in *Troilus and Creseide*. In Book ii, lines 962-4 the cynical Pandarus replies to the question of Troilus "Shal I now wepe or singe" by saying:

Her love of freendship have I to the wonne,
And also hath she leyd hir feyth to borwe;
Algate a foot is hameled of thy sorwe.

Skeat's note explains *hameled* as 'cut off, docked,' but adds in his glossary 'it refers to the mutilation of dogs that were found to be pursuing game secretly. They were mutilated by cutting off a foot.' This is apparently not quite accurate, since the process of hameling (hambling) was rather to cut off the balls of the feet,³⁷ and is therefore less applicable to the single foot of the *Troilus* reference. Skeat's explanation would make the line mean that "sorwe" as a hound could no longer pursue Troilus so effectively, and in that case the line seems to have little direct connection with the preceding. Indeed, Skeat indicates its separation by a period after *borwe*. I

³⁶ The allusion to the Summoner as "wood were as an hare" (*Friar's Tale* 29, *C. T. D.* 1327), slight as is its relation to hunting, seems to be the earliest use of the expression "mad as a hare" "mad as a March hare." The latter form is first recorded as used by More in 1529. Doubtless the idea is connected with that of melancholy attributed to the hare. For example Turberville says: "The Hare first taught us the use of the hearbe called wilde Succorye, which is verie excellent for those whiche are disposed to be melancholike; she hir selfe is one of the moste melancholike beastes that is."

The proverb in *Troilus* iv, 1373-4,

men seyn that hard it is
The wolf ful and the wether hool to have,

also has its basis in the animal lore of a game animal. More remote is that of *Troilus* iv, 1453-4,

men seyn that one thenketh the bere,
But al another thenketh his ledere.

Both these proverbs are original with Chaucer. They are not in his source.

³⁷ See *NED.*, *CtDict.*, etc. under *hamble*.

suggest the possibility of another explanation. The deer was sometimes *hameled*, as in training of young hounds,²⁸ so that it is possible the line means a foot of thy sorrow (cause of thy sorrow) has been hameled. That is Creseide has already given her friendship and "leyd hir feyth to borwe," thus becoming *hameled* and more easily pursued. See the figure of pursuit in line 959. In any case, *hameled* is still another hunting term used by our poet.

The interpretation I have just given of line 964 seems more likely, because Pandarus again uses a hunting figure in lines 1535-36 of the same book. He there still further encourages Troilus by saying:

Lo, holde thee at thy triste cloos, and I
Shal wel the deer unto the bowe dryve.

From this, *tryst* (*trist*) as a hunting term must mean, not simply an appointed place as usually given, but a place at which the bowman stood to shoot the deer. The *Master of Game* (chap. xxxv, p. 190) uses both "standing" and "tryste," as in "And when the king is at his standing or tryste, whichever he prefers." The former seems to be defined in the reference on p. 189 to "the king's standing, if the king would stand with his bow," while on the next page we are told,

that the fewterers ought to make fair lodges of green boughs at the tryste to keep the king and queen and ladies and gentle-women, and also the greyhounds, from the sun and bad weather.

Tryst would seem to mean, then, not only the place of a bowman as in Chaucer, the "standing" in native English, but also a more elaborate place appointed for king and queen when he took a less active part in the hunt.²⁹ Both these examples are original with Chaucer.

In the *Legend of Good Women* 1188-1217, describing the hunt by Dido and Æneas and based on the *Æneid* iv, 129-59, Chaucer has

²⁸ See Turbervile ch. 14, p. 36.

²⁹ Minor allusions to hunting in *Troilus* occur in iii, 1779-81:

In tyme of trewe on haukinge wolde he ryde,
Or elles hunten boor, bere, or leoun,—
The smale beestes leet he gon bisyde.

but this is from Boccaccio's *Filostrato*. In v, 1238, where Troilus dreams of "a boor with tuskes grete," the dream notion is Chaucer's, as well as the kissing of the lady in his arms. The boar, however, belongs to Boccaccio.

unified the scene, and in some particulars made it conform to English hunting practice. While nets and spears are mentioned (1190) as by Virgil,⁴⁰ the goats and the boar of the Latin poet are omitted, and the hunt is mainly confined to the hart—the appropriate game for a royal hunt—as in the *Book of the Duchess* and the *Knight's Tale*. Here, too, Chaucer again uses the specific hunting term *find* for the discovery of the game animal, and adds at once his only example of true hunting cries:⁴¹

The herd of hertes founden is anoon,
With "Hey, go bet, prik thou, lat goon, lat goon."⁴²

Nor must we forget, among the allusions to hunting in the *Legend of Good Women*, some of the gifts which Dido gave to Æneas. None were too good for him, we are told in lines 1114 ff., and among them

Ne gentil hautein faucon heronere,
Ne hound for hert or wilde boor or dere,

the latter especially an appropriate gift for a royal hunt.

There are, besides, a number of minor allusions to hunting in

⁴⁰ Nets were sometimes used in England, in order to confine the hunt within certain boundaries, as indicated in a footnote to *Master of Game* p. 30.

⁴¹ Very different these from the cries and shouting when the fox is pursued by the widow, her daughters, and "many another man," by the dogs of the farm and the maid Malkin, in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (C. T. B. 4565 ff.).

⁴² The punctuation should show, as does that of the Globe edition, that the hunting cries proper conclude with this line. I suggest also that the next two lines are specifically what the "yonge folk," as distinct from their elders, boastingly say, and that this fact should be more adequately indicated by new marks of quotation inclosing lines 1214-5, as perhaps a dash after the latter. Chaucer then concludes the account of the royal hunt with "and up ('upon that') they (the elders, not the boastful youth) kille

These wilde hertes and han hem at hir wille."

The *bestys wilde* or *wild(e) bestes* of some MSS. may be explained as a misunderstanding of this conclusion, as if it belonged to what is said by both old and young. Chaucer, I take it, meant to emphasize the hart hunting, and as I have pointed out above no other animals are included in the description by him. Besides, this foolish boast was surely not spoken by Dido or "this Troyan by her syde" while actually engaged in hunting the royal game.

The hunting cry "Hey" occurs in *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight* (1158), where with "war" it is used to hold in the hinds. "Go bet, prik thou" are terms of encouragement, as Skeat says, but they seem here to apply specifically to the setting on of the "finders," while "lat goon" must be the cry at the uncoupling of the running hounds after the finding of the hart.

Chaucer. In the Prologue to the *Legend of Good Women* (B. 131), the "smale foules"

That from the panter and the net ben scaped

rejoice in their escape, and sing "the fouler we defye." The Host in the *Canterbury Tales* addresses the poet in a hunting figure (C. T. B. 1886):

Thou lokest as thou woldest finde an hare,
For ever upon the ground I see thee stare.

Sir Thopas, and the Marquis Walter in the *Clerk's Tale* were hunters, as indicated in lines B. 1926-9, E. 81, 234.⁴⁸ The Christmas time in the *Franklin's Tale* (F. 1254) brings "braun of the tusked swyn," a product of the hunt. The Maunciple uses a figure from hunting in his *Prologue* (H. 77), and the Phebus of his *Tale*, Apollo the archer (H. 108, 129), is made to kill his wife with bow and arrow, which he later breaks in grief when he realizes he has used them so disastrously (H. 264, 269).

The illustrations and interpretations of this paper indicate that Chaucer knew much more of medieval hunting practice than has usually been supposed. It shows, too, that he used hunting terms in their strict hunting senses, in other words with a realism quite in keeping with that shown in so many other particulars throughout his work. Once again did the poet return to the subject in what might have been an extremely interesting presentation. When the Monk has wearied his audience with his doleful tales of misfortune, and the Knight has stopped him with "good sir, namore of this," the Host suggested something more in keeping with the Monk's character (B. 3995):

Sir, sey somewhat of hunting I yow preye.

But for some reason Chaucer was not ready with a hunting tale, and the Monk is allowed to put us off:

"Nay," quod this Monk, "I have no lust to pleye."

OLIVER FARRAR EMERSON

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

⁴⁸ The humorous pursuit of the fox which carried off Chanticleer in the *Nun's Priest's Tale* contains no technical hunting language.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PERUVIAN LITERATURE (1821-1919)

A KNOWLEDGE of the literary manifestations of Latin America is now recognized as an important part of Romance Language study, and a social and commercial asset to all who travel south of the Rio Grande. As yet we are handicapped by a scarcity of Latin American books in our libraries and by a lack of manuals of literature and articles in scholarly magazines. Notable efforts to fill this want include Coester's *Bibliography of Spanish American Literature* (The Romanic Review, Jan.-March, 1912) and his *Literary History of Spanish America*—the latter recognized both here and in South America as an admirable introduction to the study of Spanish American letters. Other contributions are P. H. Goldsmith's *A Brief Bibliography of Books in English, Spanish and Portuguese, relating to the republics commonly called Latin American*, New York (Macmillan) 1915; E. C. Hills' list of Spanish American novels (Hispania, May, 1919); C. K. Jones' *Suggested Reading in Spanish American Prose* (Hispania, Oct. 1920); and Isaac Goldberg's *Studies in Spanish-American Literature*, New York (Brentano) 1920, which discusses at length the Modernista movement and sympathetically studies five of the leading literary figures.

The student who wishes to make an intensive study of one country is held back by the lack of first hand material and is perhaps misled by a seeming scarcity of literary production. In the case of Peru with which this article deals few manuals are to be found even in Spanish. So far as I am aware only two histories of Peruvian literature have thus far been written. José de la Riva Agüero's *Carácter de la literatura del Perú independiente* (1907) was the first in the field. Written as a thesis for the degree of *bachiller* it has attracted much favorable comment in South America. This book is now a literary curiosity and cannot be secured at any price in the book stores of Lima. It was, however, published in the *Revista Universitaria* (1907-8) of the University of San

Marcos and those interested may possibly obtain the files of the magazine. A more recent book is Dr. Javier Prado's *El genio de la lengua y de la literatura castellana y sus caracteres en la historia intelectual del Perú*, Lima, 1918. It deals with the whole field of Peruvian literature, though its brevity (194 pages) naturally prevents a detailed treatment of the lesser writers. This volume is obtainable and will prove a valuable addition to any library.

In both the above mentioned books the footnotes are not assembled in any formal bibliography. Coester's Bibliography is admittedly incomplete and his history of Spanish American literature likewise lacks an extensive bibliography. In this field the work of Medina with its elaborate detail leaves little to be desired in the Colonial period, and René-Moreno's efforts have added invaluable notes on later periods. Both these studies, however, are relatively rare books and are not always accessible.

In the notes which follow it is intended to supplement to a certain extent the material now available. Properly speaking it is rather a list of books than a formal bibliography. It includes works that the writer found in the National Library in Lima, the private library of Dr. Javier Prado, and the collections of the University of San Marcos, the Arequipa Club and the University of Cuzco.¹ No titles have been gleaned from histories of literature, bibliographies or catalogues and no claim of completeness is made except that of including the books actually in these libraries in 1919. From the list are omitted titles of works of a purely scientific nature; mention being made of history, biography, essays, epistolary correspondence, prose fiction and poetry in the period 1821-1919.² The footnotes contain references to critical or biographical articles in books or magazines of Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, and Uruguay. No reference is made in the notes, however, to the valuable book published in Lima under the auspices of the Hispanic Society and edited by W. B. Parker, *Peruvians of To-day* (1919). This is

¹ The bibliography of Ricardo Palma includes titles of books and publications to be found in his private library. Access to this was given me by his daughter, Angélica Palma, who assisted in compiling the data.

² In the case of Ricardo Palma philological studies are also included. This part of the bibliography is, I think, practically complete.

one of a series now being published³ containing brief biographies of living men. To the student of modern Spanish-American literature it is of great importance, including as it does in the case of authors the principal facts of their lives, and, as far as space permits, a list of their works. Nor is mention made in the notes of the more extensive compilation of biographies, Paz Soldan's *Diccionario biográfico de Peruanos contemporaneos*, Lima, 1917, a book more difficult to obtain and somewhat out of date.

In closing this introduction the writer wishes to express his appreciation of the unfailing courtesies extended him by Dr. Javier Prado y Ugarteche, Rector of the University of San Marcos. To Señor Urbano A. Revoredo, Librarian of the University, and to Señor Carlos A. Romero of the National Library, he owes generous thanks for office and library facilities. He is especially indebted to Señorita Angélica Palma, without whose assistance the bibliography of Ricardo Palma would have been incomplete. Thanks are also due to Professor J. D. M. Ford who was so kind as to read the manuscript copy.

A list of the abbreviations which appear in the footnotes follows:

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STURGIS E. LEAVITT

UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA

²⁴ Has written a number of text books on history, among them *Apuntes de Historia crítica del Perú.* Lima. Tip. El Lucero. 1909, and *Historia del Perú prehispanico.* Lima. Lib. Fr. Galland. 1918.

REVIEWS

Paris et les Parisiens au Seizième Siècle. Paris Physique—Paris Social—Paris Intime. By ALFRED FRANKLIN, Paris, Émile-Paul, 1921, pp. 536.

This volume by the retired Administrateur of the Bibliothèque Mazarine, was printed during the years 1915-1917, "au milieu de difficultés sans cesse renaissantes et dans des conditions exceptionnelles de lenteur." Coming from the pen of the noted authority of the social history of the thirteenth and sixteenth century the reader could expect nothing but a splendid piece of work. His expectations, however, could not have imagined any book quite so fascinating. As a scholarly document it is a monument of research, as a literary work it has infinite charm. The Preface states clearly the purpose of the author and we can do no better than cite its concluding paragraph:

Pour moi, humble chercheur, les infiniment petits de nos annales bourgeoises m'intéressent plus que les exploits de nos rois. Je me suis donc proposé seulement en ce volume de tracer un tableau fidèle du milieu dans lequel vivaient les Parisiens du XIV^e siècle. Seuls y trouveront place l'aspect que présentait leur ville, les institutions urbaines qui les régissaient, les conditions variées de leur existence quotidienne. C'est toujours incidemment qu'il sera ici question de la politique, de l'armée, de la marine, des beaux-arts et même des belles-lettres.

Although the book does not treat of literary history, except incidentally, those of us who are interested in the sixteenth century will find a work of the sort under consideration invaluable for the understanding of the literature of the period.

In the first part of the book, "*Paris Physique*," the author describes in great detail the growth of the city, its limits at various moments, its walls, its streets, the names given to those streets, how they were numbered, what sort of street signs existed at the time,—all this accompanied by interesting illustrations. When one reads the description of the dirt, smells, and other sources of infection one begins to wonder how anyone remained alive under those conditions. The pages devoted to the street cries of Paris are exceedingly interesting. M. Franklin takes up every possible phase of life, describing the carriages in which rode the people of that time, the lighting of the streets, the bridges, public clocks, fountains. He tells us that in general the authors of the sixteenth century, so generous in their praises of Paris, were not very enthusiastic about the Parisians. He cites from Lestoile, Rabelais, and others.

In the second part, "*Paris Social*," we learn about the administration of the municipality, the street criers, the reform of the calendar, money, taxes, privileges granted to "familles nombreuses," the curious trials of animals—I am simply picking out a few details from the great mass of information—instruments of torture, duels, begging, drunkenness, the care of the poor, etc. Every now and then the author throws interesting light on some French proverbs whose historical significance has long been forgotten. The third chapter, on Education, is of great importance and from the point of view of narration, extremely vivid. The following chapter throws much new light on the history of printing, on the organisation of printers, book-sellers, binders, copyists—invaluable information for the student of literary history. This material is immediately followed by a

description of workingmen's corporations and other topics of interest to the student of the history of labor.

"*Paris Intime*," the subject of the third part of the volume, gives us a picture of the daily life of the people which no one study has yet assembled. The reader remains dumbfounded at the author's acquaintance with every possible phase of the human activity of the time, knowledge gleaned from an infinite amount of reading. The abundant notes bear witness throughout the book of extensive consultation of manuscripts, historical, literary works and documents of every conceivable nature, with a judicious choice of what is trustworthy and reliable. This third part is divided into seven chapters with the following headings: "Le mariage et l'enfant, L'appartement, Le costume, Les repas, La santé, La religion, Fêtes et jeux." Under these subdivisions the author groups a wealth of information and presents it in a scholarly and at the same time attractive way. We follow the sixteenth century society through all its activities, and every now and then the author allows his personal attitude to show through this mine of material, as for instance:

"On ne regardait pas alors un enfant à élever comme une égoïste source de joie et de plaisir pour la maison, et l'on se rendait très bien compte que, dans son intérêt comme dans celui de la société, l'intervention d'une main ferme était souvent indispensable."

M. Franklin cites from Rabelais, from Marguerite de Navarre, Corrozet, and from many other well known writers of the time. He even enters into philological discussions and gives evidence of a deep understanding of the language of the period.

It is interesting to read such minute details as the meal-hours, the order of courses, the food, and beverages in vogue at the time, the use of forks, tooth-picks, tobacco, and the first use of the pipe in smoking. We read here of the origin of such expressions as *mettre le couvert*: and *nouer deux bouts*. The chapter on "La santé" gives a detailed account of the knowledge of medicine at the time, the treatment of certain diseases, the superstitions connected with both the disease and its treatment, while the following chapter, "La Religion," goes into the beginnings of the Reformation, an account of pilgrimages, penalties, relics, criers, funerals and cemeteries. Finally, in the chapter on "Fêtes et Jeux," we learn of the working day and the holiday, the fires of Saint John, music, animal fights, popular entertainments, gifts, various games and toys for children.

Here then is a book which, though not intended primarily for students of literature, is of great value to them. Until its publication, in order to get only a very incomplete picture of life in Paris in the sixteenth century, one had to consult an endless number of volumes, many of which are inaccessible to anyone living abroad. In the volume at hand all this information is brought together, with the addition of much that is new and heretofore unpublished. The material is classified so that it is easily consulted and with all that it is presented in a fascinating style. Literature is unintelligible without history and especially without a knowledge of social history. *Paris et les Parisiens au xvi^e siècle* furnishes the background which every student of the literature of the sixteenth century needs.

HÉLÈNE HARVITT

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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DOÑA MARÍA DE ZAYAS Y SOTOMAYOR: A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF HER WORKS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

VERY little is known of the life of Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor and the little that has been gleaned through careful and painstaking research in connection with the present study is indeed too meagre to satisfy natural curiosity concerning a woman whose loyal and sturdy advocacy of the rights of her sex took a bold and fearless stand which may be considered unique for the times in which she lived. In her writings she voiced the protest that throughout the succeeding years has grown ever more insistent, in its effort to readjust standards of morals and to assure to women an attitude of fairness and justice on the part of the opposite sex. This protest which, at that time and up to just a few years ago, seemed so bizarre to some and so trivial to others, has, by reason of organized effort, attained such importance that it is one of the factors to be reckoned with in both the public and private life of today. Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor can well be classed with those who first braved public opinion to assert and maintain, by force of argument, that women have certain rights and that, as human beings, they are not inferior to men.

As the preface to her works proclaims, Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor was a native of Madrid in Spain. Furthermore, we learn from church records that she was baptized in that city in the

parish of San Sebastián, on September 12, 1590.¹ Her father was D. Fernando de Zayas y Sotomayor, born in Madrid and baptized in the same parish, November 9, 1566.² He was the son of D. Francisco de Zayas, a resident of Madrid, although born in Villa de los Santos de Maimona (situated near Zafra, in Extremadura), and his mother was Doña Luisa de Zayas of Madrid. His grandparents on his father's side were Alonso de Zayas, born in Zafra and a resident of Madrid, and Inés Sanchez of Los Santos. On his mother's side his grandparents were D. Antonio de Sotomayor and Doña Catalina de Zayas, both of Madrid. D. Fernando de Zayas was a military man, holding the position of Captain of Infantry. In 1628 he was admitted to the Order of Santiago, for which organization he filled the office of "Corregidor de la encomienda" of Jerez from August 5, 1638 to November 5, 1642.³ Of his wife, we know almost nothing. We are simply told in the baptismal record of her daughter that she was Doña María de Barasa.⁴

It seems probable that Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor lived in Madrid during the greater part of her life, if not the whole of it. The fact that her novels were first published in Zaragoza⁵ is not

¹ *Apuntes para una Biblioteca de Escritoras Españolas*: Manuel Serrano y Sanz, Madrid, MCMIII. 2 vols. Vol. ii, p. 584.

² *Hijos de Madrid, Ilustres en Santidad, Dignidades, Armas, Ciencias y Artes*: D. Joseph Antonio Alvarez y Baena. Madrid, MDCCLXXXIX. 4 vols. In vol. iii, p. 48, Baena expresses the opinion that, in view of the date at which the author flourished in her literary work, she was doubtless the daughter of D. Fernando de Sayas y Sotomayor. His supposition is confirmed by the researches of Manuel Serrano y Sanz, who discovered the baptismal records. [Wherever early texts are quoted the intention has been to preserve the original orthography, punctuation and use of accents.]

³ *Apuntes*: Manuel Serrano y Sanz. Vol. ii, p. 584.

⁴ The baptismal record as given in the *Apuntes*, vol. ii, p. 585, is as follows: María de Çayas.—En doce dias del mes de Septiembre de mill y quinientos y noventa años, yo el bachiller Altamirano, theniente de cura bapticé á María, hija de don Fernando de Cayas y de doña María de Barasa su muger. Padrinos don Diego de Santoyo y doña Juana de Cardona su muger; testigos Bernabé Gonzales y Alonso García-Altamirano (Madrid, Parroquia de San Sebastian. Libro tres de bautismos, folio 213).

Strange to say, in spite of the baptismal record, Manuel Serrano y Sanz tells us in his comment that *Catalina de Barrasa* was the mother's name. This is the name given by certain other authorities also.

⁵ *Novelas amorosas exemplares*, compuestas por Doña María de Zayas y

sufficient reason to conclude that she necessarily lived at any time in that city, although this seems to have remained a question in the minds of some authorities on Spanish literature.⁶ The place of publication may have been merely a matter of convenience, as will appear from the following considerations. It must be remembered that after the Court was established in a permanent manner at Madrid in 1561, a rapid development along social, economic and intellectual lines characterized the city. One of the manifestations of intellectual development at this time was the increased activity in the writing of books. The establishment of printing in the capital in 1566 stimulated to such an extent the publication of these literary efforts that the presses were unable to cope with the demands made upon them. Moreover, court business, including the publication of documents, records and official correspondence submitted for printing, added to the difficulties and burden of work imposed on the press. The situation, instead of becoming better, grew worse.⁷ Authors and booksellers alike clamored in vain for more speed and less delay. It was natural that they should look elsewhere for better service if such were to be had. The formalities connected with the issuance of a book, such as the details of examination, censure, license and special privileges, had to be transacted at Madrid,¹⁰ but there was nothing to prevent its actual publication elsewhere. Accordingly, it was no unusual custom to resort to the Sotomayor; Zaragoza, 1637. *Primera y Segunda Parte de las Novelas Amorousas y Exemplares*, compuestas por Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor: Zaragoza, 1647.

⁶ *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*: Novelistas posteriores a Cervantes, Tomo 2, con un bosquejo histórico sobre la novela española, escrito por D. Eustaquid Fernandez de Navarrete. Madrid 1854. M. Rivadeneyra, Ed.

⁷ *Bibliografía Madrileña*: Cristóbal Pérez Pastor, Madrid 1891, vol. i, p. xvii. [Notes 7 and 8 have been suppressed.]

¹⁰ *Bibliografía Madrileña*: C. Pérez Pastor. Madrid 1891. Vol. i, p. xiv. "Por orden de Felipe II de 7 de Septiembre de 1558 se manda en el artículo 3º que no se imprima ningún libro en España sin licencia del Consejo Real." P. xv. Another law, in 1592: "... las licencias que se dieran para imprimir de nuevo algunos libros de cualquier condición que sean se den por el Presidente y los del nuestro Consejo, y no en otras partes."

¹¹ *Bibliografía Madrileña*: C. Pérez Pastor. Vol. i, p. xlii.

"Zaragoza parece que logró la buena suerte en aquel tiempo de ser pueblo elegido para la impresion de libros de entretenimiento." Bibl. de Aut. Esp.: Novelistas post. a Cervantes; Preface.

presses outside the city of Madrid where the pressure was not so great, and where the work could be accomplished far more expeditiously. It is a fact that the publishers and booksellers in cities such as Zaragoza, Valencia and especially Barcelona worked so quickly that they often reprinted popular books and introduced them into Castile before the first Madrid edition of the same was exhausted.¹¹ Might this not have been the case with the works of Doña María de Zayas?

Whether Doña María was married or not, we do not know. There is no discovered document, notice or reference in or out of her works to establish this point.¹² D. Manuel Serrano y Sanz,¹³ who has gleaned, thus far, more information on our author than any other investigator, confesses that he has been unable to unearth anything definite concerning the personal life of the Doña María de Zayas in question. The greatest difficulty encountered in such an investigation is that during the seventeenth century the name of María de Zayas was a very common one. In the death notices of ladies bearing this name there is nothing to identify any one of them as the author of the "Novelas." She was doubtless a lady of the Court, aristocratic to her finger tips, well educated and surrounded with friends of similar station and similar tastes. The fact that she followed her bent and indulged her taste for publishing what she wrote indicates that she must necessarily have been well endowed with the goods of this world, for then as now the Muses were strangely blind to mundane needs.¹⁴ The pursuit of happiness in their name is indeed a labor of love. The poets and other authors of her day held her in high esteem, inserting in their verses and prose writings warm praise of her achievements. Foremost among these were Lope de Vega and Juan Pérez de Montalván.

¹² D. Eustaquio Fernández de Navarrete says: "¿ Residía en ella (Zaragoza) Doña María, y había en ella contraído uno de esos dulces lazos que fijan la suerte de las criaturas? No se sabe." Cf. *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*: Novelistas post. a Cervantes.

¹³ *Apuntes*, Vol. ii, p. 583.

¹⁴ A Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor sus apellidos la califican de persona de nacimiento distinguido y de clase acomodada. Solo de este modo pudo tener espacio y desahoga para dedicarse a las letras, porque en España, entonces como ahora, pocos adeptos de las musas podían vivir de las ofrendas que el público rendía en sus altares." Cf. *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*: Novelistas Post. a Cervantes.

In his *Laurel de Apolo* Lope de Vega addresses these verses to Doña María de Zayas:

O dulces Hipocrénides hermosas,
Los espinos Pangeos
Aprisa desnudad, y de las rosas
Texed ricas guirnaldas y trofeos
A la inmortal Doña María de Zayas;
Que sin pasar á Lesbos, ni á las playas
Del vasto mar Egeo,
Que hoy llora el negro velo de Teseo,
A Sapho gozara Mitilenea,
Quien ver milagros de muger desea:
Porque su ingenio, vivamente claro,
Estan único y raro,
Que ella sola pudiera,
No solo pretender la verde rama,
Pero sola ser sol de tu ribera;
Y tu por ella conseguir mas fama,
Que Nápoles por Claudia, por Cornelia
La sacra Roma, y Tebas por Targelia.

Juan Pérez de Montalván in his turn was unstinting in his tribute which appeared in the form of a sonnet in the preliminary pages of the first part of Doña María's *Novelas*:

Dulce Sirena, que la voz sonora
Apolo te prestó desde su esfera,
De la Accidalia diosa, verdadera
Imagen, por quien Marte tierno llora.

Luz destos valles, que qual blanca Aurora
Fertilizas su verde Primavera,
Cuya eloquencia aficionar pudiera
Al Rubio amante, que un Laurel adora.

Prevengate la fama mil Altares,
Su guirnalda te dé el señor de Delo,
Quede tu nombre en bronzes esculpido,

El Laurel merecido
Te dè, Amarilis, la parlera fama,
Que ya por fin igual tu lyra llama.

Another friend who lived on intimate terms with her was Doña Ana Caro Mallén de Soto, who was also a poet and deeply interested in the field of letters. *Décimas* by her appear in the above-mentioned edition of the *Novelas* and reveal the high admiration she felt for the intellectual attainments of her brilliant contemporary and friend:

Crezca la Gloria Española,
insigne doña Maria,
por ti sola, pues podría
gloriarse España en ti sola:
nueva Sapho, nueva Pola
Argentaria, honor adquieres
a Madrid, y te prefieres
con soberanos renombres,
nuevo prodigio a los hōbres,
nuevo assōbro a las mugeres.

A inmortal region anhelas
quãdo el aplauso te aclama,
y al imperio de tu fama
en sus mismas alas buelas:
novedades, y novelas
tu pluma escribe, tu cantas
triunfo alegre, dichas tantas,
pues ya tan gloriosa vives,
q' admiras con lo q' escribes,
con lo que cantas encantas.

Tu entender esclarecido,
gran Sibila Mantuana,
te miente al velo de humana,
emula al comun olvido;
y del tiempo desmentido
lo caduco, a las historias,
harà eternas tus memorias,
rindiendole siempre fieles,
a tu eloquencia, laureles,
a tu erudicion, vitorias.

CHAPTER II

FEMINISM IN THE WORKS OF DOÑA MARÍA

Doña María was a woman of advanced ideas, advocating general education for women, recognition of the equal rights of both sexes, and respect for women in the eyes of men. To understand her point of view, to comprehend how noble were her aims and how justified her protest against the position of women in Spain at the time, it is necessary to have a correct perspective of the age, especially as regards woman. Not until this view has been attained can we judge how well or how inadequately she succeeded in portraying, through her works, the manners and customs, the tendencies, and the abuses of the period. As a general thing education for women, however elevated their station might be, was rare. No opportunity was offered for any but a domestic career, to say nothing of a literary one. Instruction in household arts and in the amenities of social life was thought to be sufficient for women. It was a question in many minds as to whether they were capable of assimilating knowledge of any other sort. Women were supposed to live secluded, protected and conventional lives, leaving to men the knowledge of the affairs of the world, the transaction of business and the pursuit of wisdom. To the majority of women, it must be said, this was entirely satisfactory, for they were so accustomed to have the men decide and dispose for them in all matters outside their private and narrow lives, that any attempt to throw off their shackles, to soar into the spheres of literature and art, seemed strange and unfamiliar to their natures.

But that in the seventeenth century in Spain there were women who felt the injustice of the limitations imposed upon them by a man-made world and who yearned for greater spiritual and mental development, we have only to study the career of Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor to be rendered certain. Some of these, sure of their latent potentialities, had the moral courage, not only to protest against, but to break away from, the conventional routine and to pursue the bent of their respective talents. Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor was among the number. In the preface to the first part

of her novels,¹ she gives utterance to the challenge that still rings through the ages, gradually becoming more confident, and promising to overcome all obstacles. It is a most personal touch from this author, who demands by what right men claim to be so wise and learned, and presume that women cannot be so too?² She condemns the wickedness and tyranny that insist on keeping women locked up and under repression, that will not give them teachers nor instruction.

"The real reason why women are not learned," she says, "is not because they lack mentality, but because they are not given the opportunity to apply themselves to study. If, in childhood, they gave us books and masters instead of lace-making and fine embroidery, we should be just as well prepared for positions of state and for professorships as are the men, and perhaps we should have more discernment, being more dispassionate in our temperaments. Our repartee is quicker, we are more carefully deliberate in our deceptions, and whatever is done with cleverness, although it be not virtue, shows creative faculty."

Little wonder that Doña María thought women capable of meddling in politics!

She continues:

"³ And, if these reasons are not convincing and to our credit, then there will stand us in good stead the testimony of history in regard to what women have done in the field of letters. We are told by the poet Lucan himself that his wife Argentaria helped him

¹ *Novelas Amorosas y Ejemplares*: Compuestas por Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor. Zaragoza, 1637.

² "... q' razon ay para que ellos seã sabios, y presuman que nosotras no podemos serlo? esto no tiene, a mi parecer, mas respuesta q' su impiedad, o tirania en encerrarnos, y no darnos maestros: y, assi la verdadera causa de no ser las mugeres doctas, no es defeto del caudal, sino fata [*sic*] de la aplicacion, porque si en nuestra criança, como nos ponen el cambray en las almohadillas, y los dibuxos en el bastidor, nos dieran libros, y preceptores, fueros tan aptas para los puestos, y para las Catedras, como los hõbres, y quiza mas agudas, por ser de natural [*sic*] mas frio, por consistir en humedad el entendimiento, como se ve en las respuestas de repente, y en los engaños de pensado, que todo lo que se haze con maña, aunque no sea virtud, es ingenio."

³ "... y quando no valga esta razon para nuestro credito, valga la experiencia de las historias, y veremos por ellos lo q' hizieron las mugeres que trataron de buenas letras. De Argentaria esposa del Poeta Lucano, refiere ei mismo, que le ayudò en la correccion de los tres libros de la Farsalia, y le

correct the three books of the *Pharsalia*, and composed many verses for him which were palmed off as his own. Themistoclea, sister of Pythagoras, wrote a most learned book of maxims. Diotima was held in great respect by Socrates. Aspasia gave many critical lectures in the *Academias*. Eudoxa left a book written on political science; Zenobia, an epitome of Oriental history; and Cornelia, wife of Africanus, a collection of intimate correspondence written in most elegant style. There is an infinite number of others, of antiquity and of our own times, which I pass over in silence. . . . Well then, if these things are true what reason is there why we may not show aptitude for books?"

Doña María de Zayas had an inquiring mind, alive to current events and interested in progress. She says, "Whenever I see a book, new or old, I leave my lace-making and do not rest until I have read it through. From this inclination of mine was born the knowledge I have, and from this knowledge a sense of good taste."⁴

Throughout her writings there is ever present a defensive note in condemnation of man in respect to his attitude toward woman. But this is not surprising nor undeserved, for the position of woman in the eyes of man at this particular time was not an elevated nor an enviable one. Navarrete⁵ contrasts this period with the time of Queen Isabel, when women were most ambitious, and, following the example of the Queen who gave lessons to princes in the "Art of Ruling," they delved into the realm of study and were respected by the men for their learning and accomplishments. Then the University of Alcalá, recently founded and enlarged by Cardinal Cisneros, was at its height and had as its leader and

hizo muchos versos, que passaron por suyos. Temistoclea hermana de Pitagoras, escrivio un libro doctissimo de varias sentencias. Diotimia fue venerada de Socrates por eminente. Aspano hizo muchas lecciones de opiniõ en las Academias. Eudoxa dexo escrito un libro de cõsejos politicos. Cenovia un epitome de la historia Oriental. Y Cornelia muger de Africano, unas epistolas familiares, con suma elegancia. Y otras infinitas de la antigüedad, y de nuestros tiempos, que passo en silencio. . . . Pues si esto es verdad, q' razon ay para que no tengamos prontitud para los libros." Ed. 1637, Zaragoza.

⁴" . . . en viendo qualquiera nuevo, o antiguo, dexo la almohadilla, y no sossiego hasta que le passo. Desta inclinacion nacio la noticia, de la noticia el buen gusto."

⁵ *Bibl. de Aut. Esp.*: Novelistas post. a Cervantes.

professor in Philosophy and Rhetoric, Antonia Nebrija. Similar posts in other universities were filled by women, but, instead of steadily gaining in popularity, literary careers for women began to fall into disfavor, and gradually women were not tolerated in the universities. Emilia Pardo Bazán⁶ speaks of this unfavorable change as a "descent which began with the last of the Austrian rulers and was wholly consummated under the rule of the Bourbons. With the corruption and decadence that fell upon Spain, the position of women was lowered—an infallible sign of the retrogression of a nation."

To what extent woman herself brought on this state of affairs, we cannot say, but it is a fact that during the first half of the seventeenth century there was an alarming laxness of morals throughout Spain,—but especially at Court. The women assumed a freedom of manner, of dress and of living that was indeed deplorable. A study of contemporary writings and a perusal of accounts by foreigners who visited the country assure us on this point. One of these writers, a Frenchman,⁷ attributed the impending ruin of many of the greatest houses in Spain to the license prevalent at the time, when every man prided himself on the number of paramours he had. He was particularly impressed by the boldness and lack of reserve displayed by the women who, by their effrontery, provoked insulting remarks from the men they met. We are told that they thronged the streets at all times, flaunting their supposed charms and decked extravagantly in the most outlandish costumes made expressly to attract attention. The majority of them were not beautiful, but sought to hide their defects by the lavish use of false hair and cosmetics, often indeed in an effort to cover the ravages of small-pox.⁸ So unsafe did the streets become that any woman, however modest and honest in her intentions, if

⁶ *Biblioteca de la Mujer*, dirigida por Emilia Pardo Bazán. Tomo III. Novelas de Doña María de Zayas, p. 16.

⁷ *Voyage d'Espagne*: by Antoine de Brunel. Edited by Charles Clavierie in the *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 30 (1914).

⁸ *Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*: by François Bertaut. Ré-édité par S. Cassan. *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 47 (1919). Francisco A. De Icaza has touched upon this phase of social life in this period in *Las Novelas Ejemplares de Cervantes*. Sus críticos . . . Sus modelos literarios, etc. Madrid, 1915, p. 214 et seq.

she appeared without a male escort was open to all kinds of advances and molestation. Consequently, the women of quality who conducted themselves with propriety went abroad only in carriages or else stayed at home, hearing mass in their own chapels and thus avoiding the annoyance and embarrassment often suffered by women in the churches—then the common meeting places of all classes and the favorite rendez-vous of gallants with the objects of their attentions. Husbands who wished to keep their wives from danger and away from this pernicious influence, assumed the rôle of absolute tyrants, forbidding them any liberties whatsoever, and treating them sometimes as if they were slaves, servants or mere children.⁹ Small wonder that there was little encouragement for mental growth for women, and that they naturally fell into the way of believing, even they themselves, that anything beyond the purely mundane was far above their intelligence.

Although Doña María de Zayas y Sotomayor fortified herself with arguments and examples from antiquity, yet she realized that in the publication of her novels she would meet with much adverse criticism and incur the censure of those opposed to radical and unaccustomed ventures; for a literary career for women, as has been said before, was most unusual at the time. Boldly she faces her public in her note to the reader. "I have no doubt whatsoever that you will be astonished that a woman has the audacity not only to write a book, but to have it printed. . . . Who doubts, I repeat, that there will be many who attribute to sheer lunacy this justifiable hardihood of revealing to the public my scrawls, because I am a woman—which, in the opinion of some ignorant persons, is equivalent to a thing absolutely incompetent."¹⁰ She seizes every oppor-

⁹ "Au reste, les maris qui veulent que leurs femmes vivent bien, s'en rendent d'abord si absolus, qu'ils les traitent presque en esclaves, de peur qu'ils ont qu'une honneste liberté ne les fasse émanciper au delà des loix de la pudicité, qui sont fort peu connus et mal observées parmy ce sexe. On m'a asseuré qu'en Andalousie, les maris les traitent comme des enfants ou comme des servantes. Car quand ils prennent leur repas, s'ils les font approcher de la table, ce n'est pas pour y manger avec eux, mais pour les servir, et s'ils ne leur donnent pas cette permission, et qu'ils veulent les tenir dans un degré de sujétion plus honneste, ils leur donnent à manger de leur table à terre, où elles sont assises sur des tapis, ou sur des carreaux a la mode des Turcs." *Voyage d'Espagne*: Antoine de Brunel. Ed. by Charles Claverie: *Revue Hispanique*, vol. 30, p. 157.

tunity to defend her sex, admitting no inferiority nor inequality, although her writings bear witness that she was not insensible to the existing conditions of things. She seeks to point out that however blameworthy a woman may be, she is nevertheless still an equal of man:

"Anyone who is a gentleman will not consider this [book] a novelty, nor will he censure it as folly, because, whether this stuff of which both men and women are made be an evolution of fire and clay or rather a composition of spirit and clod, still it is of no nobler texture in men than in women . . . even our souls are alike, for souls have no gender . . . Toward women there should be no discrimination; he who does not esteem them is wicked, because they are necessary to him, and he who insults them is an ingrate, for he forgets the hospitality shown him in the early years of his life."¹¹

Throughout her works there is an underlying tendency that seeks every occasion to vindicate woman against the misapprehending judgment of man. If there were no bad men there would be no erring women, and for every iniquitous woman there are a hundred that are good. Woman is ignorant of the ways and evils of the world by reason of her upbringing. From the very beginning her weakness is fostered, she is made dependent, no avenue is open to her that leads to self-expression, independence and adequate knowledge. Men take full account of this, for by reason of these limitations they are able to maintain their ascendancy and

¹⁰ "Quien duda, lector mio, que te causará admiracion q'una muger tenga despejo, no solo para escribir un libro, sino para darle a la estâpa. . . . Quien duda, digo otra vez, q'avra muchos que atribuyan a locura esta virtuosa ossadia de sacar a luz mis borrones, siendo muger, que en opinion de algunos necios, es lo mismo que una cosa incapaz."

¹¹ " . . . pero qual quiera [libro], como sea no mas de buen Cortesano, ni lo tendra por novedad, ni lo murmurara por desatino, porque si esta materia de que nos cõponemos los hõbres, y las mugeres, ya sea una trabaçon de fuego, y barro, o ya una massa de espiritus, y terrones, no tiene mas nobleza en ellos, q'en nosotras, si es una misma la sangre, los sentidos, las potencias, y los organos, por donde se obran sus efetos, son unos mismos, la misma alma que ellos, por que las almas ni son hombres, ni mugeres. . . . Con mugeres no ay competencias: quien no las estima es necio, porque las á menester, y quiza las ultraja ingrato, pues falta al reconocimiento del hospedaje que le hizieron en la primer jornada."

prestige. They are the victors, and can afford to be magnanimous to the weaker ally. But are they so? Far from it! Ascendancy seems but one more weapon in their able hands. They take advantage of the frailty of woman, leading her on to trust their very deceitfulness. Woe unto the woman who places her faith in so insecure a vessel, for she shall indeed reap the unjust reward of her love! With music, with billets doux, with promises and presents—the very powers of Evil are out-rivaled in strategy—her favor is sought, and trustingly she accepts all, believing implicitly in the generous giver and insistent petitioner. Most earnestly does Doña María exhort women to be firm, to hold much in reserve, to remember that to give too freely is but to court a broken heart, broken vows and neglect.

The second part of the *Novelas* was written of set purpose to warn women against the mistakes which through ignorance they so often make, by revealing the pitfalls that jeopardize their happiness. She writes not to protect the willing and contented sinner, undeserving the name of woman, but to point out the snares and ambushes laid along the way for the unsuspecting victim of good intentions. She asserts that the good woman is far more unfairly treated than the irresponsible woman who does not stand by a man long enough to have him tire of her, and she emphasizes the fact that men do tire of women easily, seeking ever new conquests, never hesitating to abandon the old love for the new, with little care for the duties left unfulfilled. They are incapable of loving as deeply as does a woman. A woman's love is so great and unselfish that it stands all tests, enabling her to suffer insults, ingratitude and the sacrifice of her own good name.

Thus does Doña María excuse the frailties of woman, and thus does she enjoy depicting her. Let it be said, however, that in her zeal to present to a sympathetic public a loving and unsuspecting martyr she sometimes falls into the error of portraying a simpleton whose stupid blindness is altogether ridiculous. Sowing his wild oats, on the other hand, is no excuse for a young man's failings. Her warning is that if he does not start right, he will probably not end right. One has only to look around to be convinced that no amount of reforming after marriage will avail to change habits established

in youth. Pessimistically she exclaims: "Who is the silly fool who wishes to marry, with so many pitiful examples facing her at every step?"

Men feel that women are without a fundamental moral sense, are fickle, and, as such, are not to be trusted. Whether with or without justification men are suspicious of women; and it is difficult, if not impossible, to convince them of the fact that a fine, noble woman will not stoop to deceit and baseness. Doña Maria tells us that so great is this prejudice that even the plays and books of the day reflect the tendency. Men's greatest amusement seems to lie in perpetrating disparaging remarks on women's infidelity. She ingeniously suggests that men are jealous and assume this attitude because secretly, in their hearts, they know that women are clever, and, if given the opportunity, might prove formidable rivals in their own fields. For this reason they want them kept stupid and pliable. In her novel, *El prevenido engañado*, she develops this idea by portraying her hero as losing faith in all women because one woman has been false to him. He believes that the more sophisticated a woman is, the better is she prepared to deceive, and consequently he goes through the world seeking a wife who shall be virtuous, good to look upon, of gentle birth (tho not necessarily rich), but whose knowledge shall not extend beyond that requisite to the care of a home, the upbringing of children and the protection of her husband's name. Otherwise—altho we are not told so in so many words—she is to be a mere clod—stupid, dull and uninteresting. He fears the well-informed, bright, intelligent woman more than he does death itself. Through the Duchess, to whom D. Fadrique discloses his views, we hear the author herself argue in favor of the intelligent woman, wise to the ways of the world, versus the stupid and ignorant fool who would never be clever enough to extricate herself from any predicament, nor quick-witted enough to save her husband's honor. What satisfaction could there be in a love founded on so shallow a foundation, for a stupid person is incapable of deep and sustained sentiment. The author cunningly arranges that the hero shall undergo an experience which changes his opinion and convinces him of the truth of this argument.

No punishment is too drastic for the man who wrongs a woman.

Her attitude is implacable on this point. She lauds the courage of the woman who avenges her honor by slaying the man who deceives her, and sincerely wishes that such justice might oftener be meted out, that men might take heed and beware of trifling with women's affections. In the novela *El imposible vencido* a married man who seeks to press his unwelcome attentions upon a respectable widow by a trick of walking through her house at night disguised as a ghost, is discovered, arrested, and condemned to die for his misdemeanor. The author's comment is simply that it is what he deserved. In spite of this apparently uncompromising attitude, we still find, depicted in the *Novelas*, some very good men who chivalrously redress the wrongs of women, who love truly, and who are faithful through all vicissitudes.

There is no sweeter love-story than that in *El desengañado amado* of the patient, generous and ideal lover D. Sancho, and Doña Clara, an example of a virtuous and long-suffering wife, to whom he is later married after the death of her husband. Although deserted by an unfaithful husband, still she remained true to him, maintaining that as God had given him to her through the vows of the church she would cleave to him and to him alone as long as he lived. D. Sancho accepts with resignation her determination, but nevertheless continues to wait patiently, watching tenderly over her from afar until the death of the husband gives him the right to renew his petition.

In all her literary work, Doña María reveals herself as an ardent Christian, to whom a religious life represents the perfect state. In her novels, after passing through the trials and tribulations of this world, it is not unusual to find the heroine entering a convent in order to escape the persecution and ill-treatment of man. There, at last, she finds true happiness and peace, and is content to remain in the shelter of the church for the remainder of her natural life.

In *Al Fin se paga todo*, the friendly protector of Doña Hipólita places her in a convent as a temporary measure, and she decides, after tasting the pleasures of a sequestered life, to remain there, refusing to return to her husband.

La Fuerza del amor gives us another example of a disillusioned woman taking the veil to serve God, the only true lover, who, unlike man, is ever grateful and appreciative of the love and devotion rendered him.

In *El Desengañado amado*, when Doña Juana, who is not leading an exemplary life, is warned by the ghost of a dead lover that her soul is doomed, she immediately repents, happily rejoicing in the opportunity offered her to insure for herself salvation and eternal peace. Throughout her writings, in any case of dangerous illness, the soul receives first attention, in preparation for meeting its Maker; then, when this is accomplished, the Church makes way for the physicians, who minister to the body. The spiritual needs, the duty of man towards his Creator, and the preparation throughout this life for the life to come—all these things are constantly emphasized. Unlike so many writers of similar tales, never does she direct a breath of unfavorable criticism against the clergy, rather are their lives and deeds extolled and magnified. Doña María de Zayas believed in a just retribution for transgressors, not only in the future life, but even the present one. *Al fin se paga todo* was written expressly to demonstrate that the wicked are not immune from punishment in this world, but that before they leave it they must begin to pay for their crimes and misdeeds.

Her faith in the efficacy of prayer is illustrated by many instances in her novels, where the apparently impossible is brought to pass through the medium of earnest prayer.

The Moors formed so romantic an element in the Spain of her day that, like most writers of the period, she could not resist the temptation to introduce incidents wherein figure Moorish captives, Moorish princes, Moorish slaves and Moorish adventurers. Many of these are represented as kindly, chivalrous, just and altogether humane and attractive. Yet, at times, her staunch Catholic conscience troubles her, and we are amused to find her inventing excuses for these sheep without the fold whom she was loath to condemn. We find them about to become Christians, or open to conviction, ready to change their faith at the opportune moment. This religious attitude in the *Novelas*, together with their lofty purpose of defending the rights of woman, infuses into their ex-

treme realism a spirit of idealism which raises them above the novels of this type current at the time.

These stories have unquestionable value in that they reflect, as in a mirror, the tendencies of the age. In the elaborate and detailed descriptions of social entertainments, artistic decorations and dress, we are better able to penetrate into the customs, the tastes and the foibles of a period which has ever been replete with interest, and, as we read, we are gradually aware that unconsciously the author wove into her narrative the spirit and atmosphere of the society in which she moved.

LENA E. V. SYLVANIA

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

(To be continued)

DEUX POÈMES DE PEYRE CATHALA

(Continued from page 17)

III. DATE DU SECOND POÈME (1230-1236); GUILLEM AUGER ATTESTÉ DE 1230 A 1257

GRÂCE au nom de *Guillem Auger* (v. 53), nous pouvons savoir à quel moment et pour quelle noble cause Peyre Cathala a formulé ces belles aspirations vers la valeur, le mérite, la loyauté et toutes les vertus chevaleresques. Il a célébré le mouvement de sympathie qui, de 1230 à 1235, s'est produit à Marseille, à Tarascon, dans le Venaissin, et même dans toute la Provence et le Midi, en faveur du jeune Raimon VII, comte de Toulouse, qui venait, en somme, de délivrer ses terres et *Parage* d'une agression odieuse par le traité de Meaux, et tâchait de reconquérir l'héritage et l'antique gloire de sa grande maison.

Guillem Auger n'est encore comme chez les romanistes que par quelques mentions vagues et accidentelles de Schultz, de Chabaneau et de M. Anglade; Schultz a trouvé son nom dans un traité de paix signé à Rièz (Provence) en 1257; Chabaneau, en répétant cette mention, fait aussi du personnage un troubadour qu'il est tenté d'identifier avec Guillem Augier de Grasse (ou de Grossa). (*Biographies des Troubadours*, dans *Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, t.8, Index. M. Anglade (*Onomastique des Troubadours, Revue des Langues romanes*, LXIII, pp. 169, 262, 263), rappelle les indications de Schultz et de Chabaneau, et signale le nom de Guillem Augier (troubadour) dans la tenson *Guillems prims iest* (Raynouard, *Choix*, V, 177), et dans le sirventés de Bertran del Paget, *De sirventes aurai guan ren perdutz* (Raynouard, *Choix*, IV, 375).

Mais Peyre Cathala et Bertran del Paget célèbrent surtout Guillem Auger comme chevalier parfait, franc, délicat, généreux, et comme homme de guerre de haute valeur. Voici, en effet, la *cobla* que lui consacre Bertran del Paget en lui dédiant son sirventés:

Lai, a N Guillem Augier, on pretz s'es clutz,
 Tramet mon chant, car el es cabalos
 E'ls enemics ten sobratz e vencutz,
 Et als amics es francs et amors,
 Larcs et adregs e senes vilania;
 E tot quant a dona e met e despen;
 E non o fai ges ab semblan dolen;
 Per que'n val mais, ja tan pauc non metria.¹

C'est donc sous l'aspect d'un chevalier vaillant et généreux qu'il faut chercher Guillem Augier dans l'histoire; et aussitôt il y apparaît, en effet, sous les traits dominants que peignent ses deux admirateurs et amis.

(Date de 1230.)—Il est mentionné, pour la première fois, dans une charte célèbre, celle où la ville de Marseille, en 1230, se donne pour *Syndic à vie*, Raimon VII, comte de Toulouse et marquis de Provence. L'acte, peu remarqué par les historiens, est une des plus belles pages des annales du Midi; une grande ville, riche éprise d'indépendance et de liberté, appelle à sa tête le seigneur le plus sympathique du temps, celui contre lequel se sont acharnés, pendant vingt ans, les puissances les plus redoutables, l'Eglise, puis la maison de France, et même l'Empereur. Le jeune comte (il n'a guère que trente-deux ans), *déshérité* en 1215, au concile de Latran, a, par une épopée sans exemple et inespérée, reconquis ses terres ruinées, et a été justement secondé un instant dans cette œuvre par la vaillante cité en 1216. Il n'a pas pu réparer tous les maux et réduire tous ses ennemis, notamment l'insatiable cour de France, et il a accepté le traité de Meaux (1229). Mais ce traité même, si dur, qui aurait osé l'espérer après la ruée de Louis VIII sur Avignon et jusqu'à Toulouse?

Le comte était entouré de l'auréole des chevaliers malheureux, mais indomptables, en qui s'incarnaient les aspirations de tout le

¹ Là-bas, au seigneur Guillem Augier, chez qui mérite s'est réfugié,
 Je transmets mon chant; car il est accompli,
 Et il tient les ennemis terrassés et vaincus.
 Et, pour ses amis il est franc et affectionné,
 Généreux, empressé et sans vilénie,
 Et tout ce qu'il possède, il le donne, le distribue et le dépense;
 Et il ne fait point cela d'un cœur dolent.
 Aussi en a-t-il plus de mérite, même s'il donnait peu.

Midi. Il était le symbole de la liberté contre l'oppression, et, comme le lui avait prédit Gui de Cavaillon, "le Sauveur de Parage." (ROMANIC REVIEW, xi, p. 212.) La journée du 7 novembre 1230 dans le cimetière des Accoules, fut donc un jour de réparation, d'enthousiasme et de poésie, le véritable élan d'un peuple vers la justice, le droit, la pitié et la beauté.

Or, Guillem Auger est cité dans l'acte, parmi les plus hauts témoins de Marseille: "Actum in presencia et testimonio . . . Ugonis de Baucio, Raimundi de Baucio, *Guillelmi Augerii*, Rostagni de Agouto . . ." (D. Vaissète, *Histoire générale de Languedoc*, nouv. édit., Privat, t. viii, col. 937—Teulet, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, t. ii, p. 188 b).

Si l'on songe que Hugues du Baus est vicomte de Marseille et l'un des plus grands seigneurs de Provence, que Raimon du Baus, son neveu, est prince d'Orange, et Rostang d'Agoût, un des plus puissants barons du Venaissin, on voit immédiatement quel est le rang élevé de Guillem Auger. Et l'on comprend aussitôt les vers de Peyre Cathala:

A celh quez es ab los fins affinatz
Ez ab los autz, aut se sab mantener.

(1231.)—La cérémonie de Marseille en 1230 avait eu surtout pour but immédiat de sauver la ville des entreprises du comte de Provence, Raimon Bérenger IV, qui voulait la réduire à l'hommage et la priver de son consulat avec la connivence de l'évêque. L'agresseur, qui était déjà sous les murs de la cité, fut aussitôt obligé de s'éloigner. Mais la guerre continua contre lui et Marseille chercha des alliés. Elle en retrouva un très important dans la ville de Tarascon. Celle-ci, en 1216, avait, comme Marseille, soutenu la cause du jeune Raimon VII de Toulouse. Elle revint donc simplement à son ancienne alliance. Or, ce fut Guillem Auger qui fut chargé, au nom du comte, de l'y ramener. Voici comment D. Vaissète (*Hist. gén. de Lang.*, VI, p. 666) raconte le fait:

"[Raimon VII] continua la guerre contre le comte de Provence. En effet, les habitants de Tarascon promirent au mois d'août de cette année (1231) à *Guillaume Augier*, qui reçut leur promesse au nom du prince, "de ne faire ni paix, ni trêve, ni traité avec le comte de

Provence, et avec tous ceux avec lesquels il était en guerre, sans son consentement; de le servir contre eux, excepté contre l'église romaine, l'empereur, le roi de France et l'archevêque d'Arles, et de le suivre dans cette guerre durant l'espace de cinq ans."

Le texte même de la charte (D. Vaissète, VII, col. 938, et Teulet, II, 216, b) n'apprend rien de particulier sur Guillem Auger, mais la cérémonie dut être imposante: les six consuls de Tarascon signèrent le traité avec tous leurs conseillers, au nombre de cinquante-quatre.

Et l'heureux négociateur dut se mettre à la tête des nouveaux alliés et conduire rudement la lutte. La fuite de Raimon Bérenger devant les coalisés a laissé des échos dans les chants de Bertran d'Alamanon, qui fut lui-même fait prisonnier et se plaignit amèrement de la lâcheté du comte. (C. Fabre, *Guida de Rodez*, pp. 93-94.)

D. Vaissète (t. VI, p. 666) n'a pas décrit cette guerre et remarque même que Raimon VII n'y prit point part personnellement. Mais un acte d'excommunication lancé contre ce comte, le 2 août 1232, dit le contraire et décrit un instant la lutte: "Comes Tholosanus terram comitis Provinciae occupaverit, segetes combusserit, villas et castra, quantum potuit, devastaverit, machinis petrariis impugnando." (Papon, *Histoire de Provence*, II, p. lxij).

C'est, sans doute, à ces exploits de Guillem Auger que font allusion Bertran del Paget et Peyre Cathala. Guillem "a vaincu les ennemis . . . il est éprouvé dans la guerre . . . C'est la fleur de la chevalerie . . . il acquiert de l'honneur et de la valeur quelque part qu'il soit."

(1233.)—La victoire fut si complète que, pour se sauver, le comte de Provence dut recourir aux bons offices de l'empereur Frédéric II, son suzerain. Celui-ci intervint par deux injonctions dont nous avons le texte (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, pp. lxiii et lxx) et qui s'adressent aux seigneurs du Baus, au comte de Forcalquier, puis aux Marseillais.

Tout le monde se soumit devant la haute intervention impériale, et Guillem Auger se trouve parmi les témoins ou les garants de la paix consentie à Avignon, devant le palais épiscopal, par le comte de Forcalquier (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, p. lxxv). Les témoins sont nombreux et de premier rang comme le voulait l'importance de

l'acte consenti devant Cailla de Curzans, légat de l'empereur, et devant les trois évêques d'Avignon, de Carpentras et d'Orange :

“ Testes affverunt dominus Parcevall de Oria, potestas Avenian, dominus Henricus et dominus Petrus de Diano, ejus judices, dominus R[aimundus] de Baucio, dominus Draconetus [seigneur de Montdragon, Venaissin], dominus Gerardus Amicus [frère du comte de Forcalquier], Isnardus Audegarus, Vill[elmus] Augerius.”

On verra plus loin que *Audegarus* est probablement une mauvaise leçon et qu'Isnardus Audegarus (*corr. Augerius*) n'est autre que le frère de Guillem, et joua, comme lui, un rôle politique assez important.

L'acte est du 29 mars 1233, et, le 24 avril suivant, Isnard Audegarus est témoin dans l'acte de soumission du comte de Toulouse lui-même. (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, p. lxxvii).

Remarquons, en passant, que la poésie semble ne jamais être absente de ces actes divers : *Folquetus de Ratman*, c'est-à-dire, si nous ne nous trompons point, le troubadour *Folquet de Romans*, est témoin dans les chartes des 29 mars et 24 avril 1233. Sa présence s'explique par le fait que le sort du Valentinois était intimement lié à celui du Venaissin, et peut-être aussi parce que Folquet était l'ami de Guillem Auger : il semble tensonner avec lui et *Arnaud* dans un *torneyamen* (table de *a*, no. 201, 7 de Bartsch).

(1236.)—La paix acceptée par les vainqueurs fut traversée par tous les efforts de la papauté et du clergé. Raimon VII avait été excommunié dès 1232, et le pape aurait bien voulu garder le Venaissin qui gémissait depuis huit ans sous séquestre. Mais l'empereur et le roi de France lui-même furent plus désintéressés, et le Venaissin fut rendu à Raimon VII, avec le consentement de Louis IX, par deux investitures successives de Frédéric II en 1234 et 1235.

Le vainqueur célébré par les poètes, c'est-à-dire Guillem Auger, ne pouvait que recevoir la récompense de sa valeur et de ses victoires. Il fut créé *juge et chancelier* du comte de Toulouse dans la province. D. Vaissète a marqué, en faisant une légère erreur, cette situation nouvelle de notre héros (*Hist. gén. de Languedoc*, t. VI, p. 129) :

“ Nous ne trouvons aucun chancelier pour ce marquisat [Le Venaissin], depuis l'an 1224, jusqu'en 1237. *Guillaume d'Augier* prenait cette année-là et la suivante, le titre de *juge et de chancelier du*

comte Raymond dans le pays Venaissin, et il exerçait encore cette charge en 1239. Pons d'Astoaud, qui lui avait succédé dès l'an 1244, la posséda jusqu'à la mort de Raimond VII."

Dans ces nouvelles et paisibles fonctions, Guillem Auger prit naturellement part aux actes les plus importants de la province.

Le 3 juillet 1236, à Orange, et devant l'église Saint Pierre, Raimon VII en personne reçut l'hommage des seigneurs de Caderousse et leur accorda toutes les franchises que leur avait autrefois concédées l'empereur (D. Vaissète, col. 993-997—Teulet, II, 319 *b*). Guillem Auger est présent, avec le sénéchal et une foule de témoins, aux côtés du comte :

"Presentibus domino A[mico] episcopo Aurasicensi, Barralo, domino Baucii, senescalco domino Comitis, Willelmo de Barreria, *Willelmo Augerio, judice et cancellario domini comitis*, Isnardo Andegario (Andeguario, Teulet) Pontio Astoaudo . . ."

On voit que le texte corrige la légère erreur de D. Vaissète, qui ne fait Guillem Auger juge et chancelier qu'à partir de 1237.

L'acte est précieux pour nous à un autre titre. Il nous fournit peut-être dans l'original du *Trésor des Chartes*, un court spécimen de l'écriture d'Auger lui-même. Celui-ci, après le *signum* du notaire du comte, a écrit, probablement de sa main, (l'écriture est différente de celle du reste de la charte) les lignes suivantes: "Et ego, *Guillelmus Augerius, judex et cancellarius domini comitis Tholose*, presentem cartam subscripsi et eam jussi bulla domini comitis roborari."

(1239.)—Le 15 mai 1239, à Orange, devant le chœur de l'église Saint Pierre, l'évêque de Carpentras, Guillaume IV (Béroard) prête hommage à Raimon VII pour sa ville épiscopale et divers châteaux, entre autres celui de Vénasque (D. Vaissète, col. 1027-1030—Teulet, ii, 406 *b*). Guillem Auger est encore mentionné avec son titre de chancelier: "Testes presentes interfuerunt dominus A[micus], episcopus Aurasicensis, R[aimundus] de Baucio, princeps Aurasicensis, Barralus, dominus Baucii, *Willelmus Augerius, judex et cancellarius domini comitis in partibus Venaissini*, Guillelmus de Barreria, Sicardus Alamandus, Massipus de Tholosa, senescalcus Venaissini. . ."

(1240.)—Le 11 août 1240, dan le cloître de l'Isle (sur Sorgue),

après beaucoup d'hésitation, Raimon VII se démit des fonctions de podestat d'Avignon en faveur du comte Galterius, vicaire général de l'empereur dans le royaume de Vienne et d'Arles, qui réclamait ce podestat avec insistance. La cession eut lieu naturellement devant les plus hauts seigneurs ou fonctionnaires de la province; Guillem Auger est parmi eux: "Testes interfuerunt dominus B[ernardus], comes Convenarum, dominus Barralus de Baucio, Willelmus Arnaudus de Tantalo, Willelmus de Barreria, Poncius Astoaudi, *Willelmus Augerius* . . ." (D. Vaissète, col. 1038. Teulet, ii, 431 b).

Puis, nous perdons Guillem Auger de vue pendant quatorze ans. Nous supposons, étant donnés sa valeur et son rang, qu'il dut être un des chefs qui conduisirent, en 1240, contre la ville d'Arles, l'expédition que le troubadour Guigo appelle *la guerra sobreira dels dos comtes*, et où Bertram d'Alamanon se conduisit si piteusement, tandis que Sordel s'y montra vaillant chevalier. (C. Fabre, *Guida de Rodez*, pp. 109-110). Cette guerre était menée au nom de l'empereur, et presque toute la noblesse du Toulousain et du Venaissin y prit une part active. Mais elle eut des conséquences graves pour ses auteurs. Raimon VII dut aller se justifier à Paris et accepter prématurément la paix de Montargis (14 mai 1241). Et tous ses vassaux furent excommuniés avec rage, dépouillés de leurs biens et souvent obligés de s'exiler. Ce fut le sort de *Peire Bremon* de Sauve (alias le troubadour *Ricas Novas*, *lo Tontz*) que son beau-frère Barral du Baus dut accueillir à Marseille, et qui ne rentra jamais dans ses biens (C. Fabre, *Los VII Gaugs de Nostra Dona*, pp. 158-163).

Guillem Auger dut subir une disgrâce analogue. Evidemment, l'Eglise ne pouvait pas lui pardonner ses anciennes victoires et le pouvoir élevé qu'il avait acquis en Venaissin. Aussi le voyons-nous cesser ses fonctions de juge chancelier en 1244. D'ailleurs, il était vraisemblablement hérétique, ou au moins fauteur d'hérésie. Il dut donc subir des persécutions ouvertes, surtout après la mort de Raimon VII en 1249. A ce moment le Venaissin passa au frère du roi de France, Alphonse de Poitiers, et la persécution des hérétiques fut immédiatement si forte qu'on en condamna vingt-deux le même jour à Malaucène. J'ai indiqué dans une autre étude (*Los VII Gaugs de Nostra Dona*, p. 37) l'état d'anarchie où tomba la province

et les efforts patients que dut faire *Gui Folqueis* pour y ramener l'ordre et y instaurer l'autorité du nouveau comte.

(1254.)—Et les persécutions, ou, au moins les soupçons, dont fut l'objet Guillem Auger, ont laissé un écho dans l'histoire. Sa famille dut faire établir, en 1254, par Raimon Gaucelme (ou Gaucelin), ancien sénéchal du Venaissin, qu'elle était loyale envers Alphonse de Poitiers, et avait été reconnue comme telle. Voici la lettre de l'ancien sénéchal : c'est un document poignant dans sa simplicité et sa concision :

“ Noverint universi et singuli quod, anno Dominice incarnationis millesimo CC^oLiⁱⁱⁱ, kalendis novembris, nos R[aimundus] Gaucelmi, dominus Lunelli, sub debito fidelitatis quam domino nostro comite Pictavie et Tholose, fecimus, testificamur et dicimus, sub presencium testimonio litterarum, quod tempore quo pro dicto nostro comite cujus tunc tenebamus senescalliam in partibus Venaissini, recepimus Pontem Sorgiae, habuimus cum universitate tam militum quam proborum hominum dicti loci, et specialiter cum *matre Guillemi Augerii et Ysnardi Augerii*, et cum ipso Ysnardo Augerio presentibus, convenciones hujusmodi : scilicet quod dicta universitas et singuli de ea debuerint et tenere et habere, pacifice et quiete, omnia bona et jura que habebant in tota jurisdictione et districtu dicti Pontis Sorgiae, sicut antea habere solebant : et pro predictis habendis et tenendis, nos promissimus eis fidum adjutorium nomine nostri comitis Pictavie [et] Tholose, et quod ipsos et existencia defenderemus ut homines et bona hominum Venaissini. In cujus rei testimonium presentes litteras sigillo nostro pendenti jus simus roborari.” (De Laborde, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, III, 221 b).

Raimon Gaucelme (ou Gaucelin) avait été sénéchal du Venaissin sous Raimon VII, et avait été maintenu dans ces fonctions par Blanche de Castille, puis par Alphonse de Poitiers, après 1249 et jusqu'en 1253. A ce moment, il avait eu pour successeur Jean des Arcis, qui fut sénéchal jusqu'en 1267. C'est donc au plus tard en 1253 que s'était produite l'intervention du sénéchal à Pont-de-Sorgues (aujourd'hui *Sorgues*, petite ville à 8 km. au nord d'Avignon), et plutôt vers 1249 que plus tard, puisque la mère de Guillem Auger et d'Ysnard, qui devait être âgée, était encore en vie. D'ailleurs, Pont de Sorgues avait un hôtel de la monnaie (Boutaric, *Louis IX et Alphonse de Poitiers*), et ainsi Alphonse de Poitiers avait dû en prendre possession immédiatement après la mort de Raimon VII.

Et il résulte du document que la famille était suspecte et avait été inquiétée, puisque l'ancien sénéchal dut certifier qu'elle ne devait pas être privée de "ses biens et de ses droits," mais considérée comme devant en jouir pacifiquement et dans le calme (*pacifice et quiete*) comme auparavant, c'est-à-dire du temps de Raimon VII. D'ailleurs, Guillem Auger était absent, puisque Raimon Gaucelme n'indique comme présents que sa mère et son frère. Où était-il? Il semble bien qu'il n'est pas compris au nombre des *militum et proborum hominum dicti loci*. Ainsi, telle était la tristesse des temps que celui qui avait rendu le Venaissin à Raimon VII, et, par là, à ses aspirations politiques et libérales, était chassé du pays par le gendre et l'héritier même de Raimon VII.

En tout cas, le document est précieux pour ses biographes. Nous savons maintenant où il était né. C'est au cœur même du Venaissin, dans ce beau château de Sorgues que les papes embelliront à l'envi au XIV^e siècle, et tout près de cet Avignon héroïque qui osa résister à Louis VIII. C'est bien de lui qu'il s'agit dans la charte, quoique la table des nouveaux éditeurs de D. Vaissète ait distingué le Guillelmus Augerius de 1254 de celui qui avait été juge et chancelier de Raimon VII. Le nom de son frère Ysnard, accolé aussi au sien, comme ici, dans deux autres des documents examinés, laisse peu de doutes à cet égard. Et Ysnard avait été podestat d'Avignon en 1241, quand son frère était encore chancelier. Il avait, en cette qualité de podestat, conclu avec le comte de Provence la paix qui avait terminé la guerre de 1240.

Et Guillem dut subir le sort des fauteurs d'hérésie, c'est-à-dire être chassé de chez lui et privé de ses biens. Son nom reparait en 1259, dans un *computus* qui contient, entre autres, l'article suivant :

"Nomina hereticorum de quorum bonis computate sunt in presenti computo . . .

"Item, ad bastidam *Guillelmi Augerii*, octo eminate terre." (De Laborde, *Layettes du Trésor des Chartes*, III, 464).

On ne dit pas dans le *computus* quel avait été le sort du propriétaire, mais les autres personnes nommées, Beatrix Ricaue, Guillaume Odard, Austrie Grandave, Bertrande Distère, André Fabri ont été condamnées à être "enmurées ou brûlées pour hérésie."

Les biens reviennent à l'évêque d'Avignon et sont parfois contestés par le *comte*, c'est-à-dire par Alphonse de Poitiers.

Peut-être ce document navrant nous donne-t-il aussi le nom de la mère ou plutôt d'une sœur de *Guillem* :

"Item, aliud stare, situm in parrochia Sancti Petri, et alia duo staria de prope, que fuerunt Gensariae Augeriae."

(1257.)—Quoi qu'il en soit de cette lamentable histoire d'hérésie, Guillem Auger avait échappé au bûcher et à la prison en se réfugiant probablement en Provence ou dans le comté de Forcalquier. Là, l'inquisition n'exerça jamais les ravages qui l'ont si tristement illustrée dans les domaines d'Alphonse de Poitiers, et bien des hérétiques ou Vaudois continuèrent à vivre paisiblement et même à acquérir des honneurs.

Or, nous trouvons justement Guillem Auger témoin dans un acte de 1257, pour ainsi dire comme au bon temps où il était allé à Marseille et à Tarascon, dans l'éclat de la jeunesse et de la gloire. L'acte a été transcrit par Papon (*Hist. de Provence*, II, p. xcvi). Après une guerre qui, avec des alternatives diverses, a duré plus de dix ans, Charles d'Anjou, comte de Provence, et Gui, dauphin du Viennois, se mettent enfin d'accord en ce qui concerne les terres du Gapençais qui faisaient partie du comté de Forcalquier. Guigue les avait réclamées au nom de sa femme, et Charles les avait revendiquées comme héritier de Guillaume de Sabran, le dernier comte de Forcalquier que nous avons vu encore en vie en 1233. Il fut convenu qu'on se les partagerait et qu'on s'en ferait réciproquement hommage. La Provence, grâce à cette combinaison ingénieuse, qui fit sourire Cardinal (chant : *Totas partz vei mesclad' ab avareza* : les habitants de Gap y sont accusés de se donner deux seigneurs différents le même jour) la Provence s'étendait jusqu'au Mont-Genèvre.

C'est dans l'acte qui consacre cet agrandissement que Guillem Augier est témoin :

"doctum apud Regium (Rièz), in domo episcopali, presentibus et vocatis infrascriptis testibus, scilicet nobili viro domino Guidone comite Forezii, domino Barallo domino Baucii, domino Guillelmo de Bellomonte, milite domini comitis Caroli, domino Henrico de Luzarchiis, canonico carnotensi, dicti domini Caroli capellano, domino Odone de Fontanis, milite, Provinciae senescallo, domino Roberto de Caveno, vicario Massiliae, magistro Petro Lombardo, domino

Azemario, domino Anomani, Guillelmo Silbondi, domino Bellione de Turri, domino Alamando de Condiaco, domino *Guillelmo Augerio*. . . .”

Les rangs sociaux ont été bien modifiés depuis 1240. Maintenant, les hommes d'église, simples chanoines, ont le pas sur les sénéchaux, et “le seigneur Guillem Auger” a un rang très modeste.

“Le même jour, ajoute Papon, le dauphin déclara que tout ce qu'il possédoit aux comtés de Gap et de Forcalquier relevoit de Charles d'Anjou et de Béatrix, sa femme.” Ce serait dans ce second acte que, d'après Schultz et Chabaneau, Guillem Auger paraîtrait encore avec Sordel; mais je n'ai pas pu voir le texte.

GUILLEM AUGER TROUBADOUR

Ainsi, huit documents nous ont révélé la carrière de Guillem Auger pendant vingt-sept ans, et nous ont même indiqué son origine, sa famille, et probablement ses tendances hérétiques. Le nouveau protecteur de la poésie provençale a eu toutes les qualités que lui décernent ses admirateurs et a montré dans la guerre la valeur que Peyre Cathala et Bertran del Paget exaltent d'une manière si précise et presque dans les mêmes termes.

Guillem Auger a-t-il été poète à son tour? Le contraire serait bien invraisemblable. Les vrais protecteurs des troubadours ont presque tous, au moins dans quelques tensons, cultivé eux-mêmes l'art qu'ils encourageaient. Cela est arrivé même aux plus grands, c'est-à-dire aux rois. C'est le cas de Richard-Cœur-de-Lion et d'Alphonse II, d'Aragon. Quant aux grands seigneurs ou aux barons, leur nombre est considérable: à leur tête se place le Dauphin d'Auvergne, qui fut réellement un grand poète, spirituel, sérieux et très divers, quoique son œuvre soit encore dispersée: Raimon VI, de Toulouse, fut lui-même poète un instant, en échangeant des *coblas* avec Gui de Cavaillon; puis nous trouvons des comtes et des comtesses de Provence, des princes d'Orange, des comtes de Rodez, Blacatz, Boniface de Castellane, les Malaspina, etc.

Or, Guillem Auger a, au moins, tensonné une fois avec un homonyme, un Guillem inconnu qui le tutoie et l'appelle délicatement “le plus habile dans l'art de trouver”:

Guillem, prims iest en trobar a ma gui[s]a
Troban, vuelh doncx saber ta voluntat . . .²

Et le poète inconnu pose une question assez banale et fréquente à ce moment : il veut savoir ce qu'il faut préférer du savoir ou de la puissance :

Cal volrias mais aver ?
Esser ricx de terr' e d'aver,
Entr'els pus ricx, o la sciensa aprisa
Ab lo saber que las VII artz divisa ?³

Guillem Auger répond naturellement que la science doit être préférée :

Mays volgr'aver la sciensa conquiza
Que'm degues remaner, que la rictat. . . .
Car ricx pot pauc valer
E leu pot hom d'aut bas cazer.
E'l sciensa non chai, pos es assiza :
Sel qu'a'l saber es ricx en sa camiza.⁴

Deux autres extraits du poème ont été transcrits par Raynouard (*Choir*, V, p. 277) et sont ainsi à la portée de tous. Mais nous avons relevé les précédents parce qu'ils contiennent justement quelques expressions curieuses du second poème de Peyre Cathala. Celui-ci emploie quatre rimes en *isa* : *estrisa* (?), *camisa*, *guisa* et *brisa*. Or, trois de ces rimes se retrouvent dans la tenson de Guillem Auger. Il semble donc que l'imitation soit voulue et cela paraît très probable dans l'emploi de *camisa*. Ce mot est rare dans la poésie provençale, et Raynouard, pour trouver des exemples (*Lexique roman*, ii, 302), a dû s'adresser à un poème anonyme et à celui de Guillem. Le mot nous choque même un peu chez Peyre Cathala, parce qu'il s'agit de la chemise de la plus noble des dames (*la gencer*) et que la chemise

² "Guillaume, tu es, à mon avis, le premier en l'art de trouver.—En trouvant, je veux donc savoir ta volonté. . . ."

³ "Que voudrais-tu avoir davantage?—Etre riche de terre et d'argent,—parmi les plus puissants, ou [avoir] acquis la science—avec le savoir qui parcourt les sept arts?"

⁴ "Je voudrais avoir conquis plutôt la science—qui me devrait rester, que la richesse . . .—Car le riche peut avoir peu de valeur—et l'on peut rapidement tomber d'un haut rang bien bas . . . Tandis que la science ne disparaît point, après qu'elle est assise:—Celui qui possède le savoir est riche, même en chemise."

ne nous paraît pas un signe de noblesse et de beauté, même aux XIII^e siècle. Nous croyons donc que le mot a été choisi pour faire plaisir à celui à qui le poème est dédié, et qui, lui, avait justement employé l'expression d'une manière parfaitement heureuse: "Celui qui possède le savoir est riche, même s'il n'a que sa chemise (comme fortune)."

Millot (*Hist. littéraire des Troubadours*, iii, 403) a pensé que le *Romieu* choisi pour arbitre dans la tenson entre les deux Guillem, pouvait être le fameux Romieu de Villeneuve, le ministre si connu et si légendaire de Raimon Béranger. Rien n'est plus vraisemblable. Romieu est un haut personnage en 1238, puisque, cette année là, dans un testament, Raimon Béranger lui confie, avec le gouvernement de la Provence, la tutelle de ses enfants.

Et Guillem dut cultiver la poésie assez longtemps, surtout pendant les années heureuses et prospères où il fut juge et chancelier de Raimon VII dans le Venaissin. Ces fonctions mêmes indiquent qu'il était instruit, et qu'il connaissait ainsi le prix du savoir dont il faisait l'éloge. D'autres juges ou jurisconsultes ont caressé la Muse du Midi au même moment que Guillem. C'est, en effet, vers 1248, que Gui Folqueis fut nommé par Louis IX juge à Saint-Gilles, et Gui Folqueis devint le jurisconsulte le plus écouté et le plus grand avocat de son temps, avant 1257. Or, Gui Folqueis a été poète et s'applaudit de l'avoir été, même quand il fut devenu pape. (C. Fabre, *Los VII Gaugz de Nostra Dona*.)

En Provence, Charles d'Anjou confia les fonctions de juge à sa cour au poète le plus populaire de l'époque, Bertran d'Alamanon, qu'Auger devait connaître. Il est vrai que Bertran trouva le métier de juge bien absorbant, et surtout inconciliable, par sa rigueur, avec la gaité de la poésie, et menaça de quitter son poste et de s'enfuir en Castille. Mais il ne quitta point son poste et la poésie continua à lui sourire. (Salverda de Grave, *Le troubadour Bertrand d'Alamanon*, pièce VI, pp. 39-46).

Toutefois, il ne saurait être de notre sujet de rechercher les autres poèmes qu'on pourrait attribuer à Guillem Auger. La recherche serait longue, laborieuse et ne conduirait probablement à aucun résultat précis. Il serait aussi prématuré et hors de notre sujet d'examiner par quels renseignements Jean de Nostredame a trouvé un

poète qu'il appelle Guillem Augier de Grasse. Ce poète, Chabaneau croit que c'est le nôtre ; il l'a trouvé mentionné dans la table du manuscrit *a* (*Biographies*, index) où on le dit originaire de Grossa. Mais cette même table attribue à Guillem Augier de Grossa un poème bien connu, *Be·m plai lo gais temps de Pascor*, qui est incontestablement la propriété de Bertran de Born. Si bien que, même en identifiant Guillem Augier de Grasse ou de Grossa avec le nôtre, on ne trouverait pas sûrement ses poèmes ; on comprendrait, au contraire, que le chant *Be·m plai lo gais temps de Pascor*, qui est un hymne de guerre, ait pu être attribué par un copiste à un homme aussi valeureux que Guillem Augier.

C. FABRE

LE PUY-EN-VELAY

(*A suivre*)

*LA APARICION QUE HIZO JESU CHRISTO A LOS DOS
DISCIPULOS QUE YVAN A EMAUS: AN EARLY
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY PLAY*

OF Pedro Altamirando (or Altamira, if Moratín is correct), the author of the little play which is printed below, nothing at all is known. Moratín probably saw an edition dated 1523, and describes it as follows: Auto de la aparición que nuestro Señor Jesu-cristo hizo á los discipulos que iban á Emaus, en metro de arte mayor compuesto por Pedro Altamira (*sic*), el mozo, natural de Hontiveros, impreso con licencia en Burgos año de 1523.¹ This edition is at present not known to be available anywhere. La Barrera mentions it, probably after Moratín, but it is found neither in Gallardo nor in Salvá. In fact, it has been thought that the play was altogether lost.²

The Madrid *Biblioteca Nacional*, however, owns a copy of a later edition (Press-mark: R-10277), formerly the property of D. Pascual de Gayangos. The title-page reads as follows:

¶ La apariciõ que
nuestro Señor Jesu Christo hizo
a los dos discipulos que yuan
a Emaus: en Metro de
Arte Mayor.
Compuesto por Pedro Altami-
rando el moço, natural de
Hontiueros.

This title is framed between two columns, resting on a long and narrow rectangle . The columns support the symmetrical figures of two angels holding a wreath of leaves, within which is pictured the host, half-emerging from the ciborium. The rect-

¹ Moratín, *Orígenes del teatro español*, Madrid, 1830-1831, I, 156-158.

² Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, p. 98, speaks of "das leider nur dem Titel nach erhaltene Auto de Emaus des Pedro de Altamira."

angle at the bottom shows two greyhounds supporting a crown with five visible points over a plain shield. Black letter. 12 unnumbered sheets. Signatures: Aij-Avij. Colophon: Impresso con licencia en Burgos, en casa de Juan Bautista Varesio: Año de M.DC.iiij.

The Emmaus-theme (*Luke*, 24. 13) appears in the Pfarrkircher Passion-play, the Catalan Passion-play mentioned by Chabaneau, a play of the Abruzzi mentioned by d'Ancona³ but always as a part of a Resurrection- or Passion-play. Creizenach⁴ has found the Emmaus-scene treated by itself only in Fleury and Rouen, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Altamirando's *Aparicion*, dignified, simple and easily acted in church,⁵ at Easter-time, adds a Spanish and more modern instance to those few examples and gives weight to Kohler's suggestion that Encina's *Representación á la santísima resurrección de Cristo*, where Lucas and Cleofas relate the miracle of Emmaus, may represent a combination of two liturgical themes originally separate.

On account of its early date, its interest for the history of the Spanish drama and its extreme rarity, Altamirando's playlet, or rather dialogue, seems well worth reprinting. It is also a document of some importance for the history of the Spanish *arte mayor*. Now that the standard technique of this verse has been soundly established,⁶ its variations and development may well be studied in carefully established texts. It has not been pointed out, I believe, how frequently the *arte mayor* has been put to dramatic use. Mr. Morel-Fatio⁷ admits only its fairly common occurrence "dans des compositions surtout didactiques et narratives, jusque vers le milieu du XVI^e siècle." As a matter of fact it would be easy to add to the five narrative works in *arte mayor*, quoted by Mr. Morel-Fatio, two or three times as many dramatic productions written before the middle of the 16th century, most of them available in reasonably reliable editions.⁸

³ Kohler, *l.c.*, p. 98.

⁴ *Gesch. d. neueren dramas*, I, 56-57.

⁵ Cf. Creizenach, *l.c.*, III, 118.

⁶ R. Foulché-Delbosc, *Étude sur le "Laberinto" de Juan de Mena*. *Revue hispanique*, IX (1902), 75-138.

⁷ *L'Arte mayor et l'hendécasyllabe dans la poésie castillane du XV^e siècle etc.* *Romania*, XXIII (1894) p. 222.

⁸ *Dansa de la Muerte* (15th cent.), ed. R. Foulché-Delbosc, Barcelona, 1907.—

The text is remarkably free from archaic forms and unusual words. We may note, however, *quiesiera* (91); *hableste* (240); *saliria*; ⁹ *cumplissen* (509; but elsewhere in this text *cumpliesse*); the two forms *compaña* (rhyming with *estraña*, 595-596) and *compaña* (rhyming with *lleuaria*, 602-605); and the noun *escupos*=*escupiduras* (528). The prologue is in rhymed couplets, the play itself in *octavas*, arranged as follows: *abba—acca*.

There are few noteworthy rhymes or assonances: we may mention *estamos: entrambos* (175-176),¹⁰ the rather more usual combinations *perfectas—prophetas* (351-352), and *benigno—camino* (434-437) all correct rhymes, interesting only to show how spelling lagged behind pronunciation. Some liberties have been taken with

Gil Vicente, *Auto de San Martinho* (1504) *Obras*, Lisboa, 1852, I.—Encina, *Egloga de Fileno y Zambardo* (Cancionero of 1509) *Teatro*, ed. Barbieri, pp. 187-225.—Diego de Avila, *Egloga ynterlocutoria* (before 1511?) *ap.* Kohler, *Sieben spanische dramatische Eklogen*, Dresden, 1911, pp. 236-265.—The *Egloga de Torino* interpolated in the *Question de Amor* (1508-1512), *ap.* Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la novela*, II, 67-73.—Torres Naharro, *Diálogo del Nacimiento* (after April, 1512), *Propalladia*, ed. Cañete-Menéndez y Pelayo, II, 347-371. A mixture of quatrains of *arte mayor* with *versos de pié quebrado*.—Bachiller de la Pradilla, *Egloga Real* (1517) last part (ll. 692-931), *ap.* Kohler, p. 229-236.—Hernando de Yanguas, *Egloga . . . en loor de la Natividad de nuestro señor* (before 1518?) *ap.* Kohler, p. 192-209.—Hernando de Yanguas, *Farsa del mundo y moral* (1528) *ap.* Cronan, *Teatro español del siglo XVI*, I, 415-449 and Rouanet, *Colección de Autos* etc., Barcelona-Madrid, 1901, IV, 398-432.—Juan de Paris, *Egloga nuevamente compuesta* (1536) *ap.* Cronan, I, 391-414 and Kohler, p. 329-350.—Diego de Negeruela, *Farsa Ardamisa* (ca. 1550), ed. Rouanet, 1900 (in part: ll. 1272-1417).—Juan de Pedraza, *Danza de la Muerte* (1551) *ap.* Pedroso, *Autos sacramentales*, pp. 41-46 (all but the *loa*), *Bibl. de Aut. esp.* t. 58.—Perálvarez de Ayllon & Luis Hurtado de Toledo, *Comedia Tibalda* (before 1553), ed. Bonilla y San Martín, 1903.—Fernando Diaz, *Farsa nuevamente trovada* (1554) *ap.* Cronan, I, 319-332 and Kohler, p. 317-328.—Anon., *Auto de la paciencia de Job* (no date) *ap.* Rouanet IV, 105-127.—The list might still be lengthened by titles of plays that have not yet been reprinted, such as Yanguas' *Auto sacramental* (Burgos, 1520?), and the same author's *Farsa . . . para . . . el día de Corpus Christi* (1521), Luis Hurtado de Toledo's *Egloga Silviana* (publ. with the second edition of the *Comedia Tibalda*), or plays now probably lost, such as Francisco de Madrid's *Egloga* (1494?), or plays partly lost, such as the farce of which fragments have been reprinted by Cotarelo y Mori, *Revista española*, I, 140-142.

⁹ Cuervo, *Apuntaciones críticas*, 6th ed. § 285.—Pidal, *Manual* (1918) § 123, 2. *Hableste*: § 118, 3.

¹⁰ Cuervo, *Apuntaciones*, 788. *Ambos* is sometimes spelled *amos*. Cf. *Cancionero de Obras de Burlas* (1511) ed. Usoz (1841) p. 147; Timoneda, *Obras*, Valencia, 1911, I, 479 *et passim*.

the rhyme. Four lines (17, 18, 364, 483) have no rhymes; one rhymes *fingido* with *infinito*; two (152, 490) have only assonances. The last of these two, however, occurring in the first quatrain, has contaminated the second quatrain (*abbx—xcxx*). *Hallareys* rhymes with itself (609-613).

Moratin has reprinted fifty-two lines (from l. 638 to l. 690) of Altamirando's ^{10a} little drama, as "una muestra del buen estilo y versificación en que está escrito." Assuming that Moratin took his passage from the edition of 1523, we have noted the few variants that occur in it, marking them with *M*.

It is intended here to reproduce the original diplomatically with all possible exactness, except in the following particulars: no long *s*'s have been used; to facilitate the reading of the text a few abbreviations have been solved; and a few obvious misprints or oversights have been corrected and these corrections have been indicated in footnotes. There has been no attempt at modernizing the punctuation or adding accentuation, nor are the lines in the immediately following caption printed to correspond with the lines of the original heading. The names of the characters are printed in full throughout.

JOSEPH E. GILLET

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

^{10a} Possibly the author's name on the title-page is a misprint for the not unusual name *Altamirano*. In the 1523 edition this may have read (Pedro) *de Altamira*, or just *Altamira*.

[Aij]

REPRESENTACION DE LA APARICION

que nuestro Señor Jesu Christo, despues de resucitado, hizo a los dos discipulos que yuan a Emaus: como lo cuenta san Lucas. Fecha en coplas a manera de dialogo: enel qual se introduzen dos discipulos: el vno san Lucas, y el otro Cleophas, y nuestro Señor en figura de Peregrino. Y primero haze vn Angel¹¹ el argumento, contando en breue lo que enel presente dialogo se contiene.

DEuotos Christianos tened atencion
 vereys muy deuota representacion
 que se tiene agora de representar
 como despues de resucitar
 Christo Jesus maestro diuino 5
 aparecio segun peregrino
 a dos discipulos suyos, no mas:
 el vno san Lucas, y el otro Cleophas
 que juntos entrambos camino lleuauan
 para vn castillo que entonces llamauan 10
 por nombre Emaus, y assi caminando
 vereys como tristes se van altercando
 si su buen Maestro Jesus fue Messias
 vereys como escucha sus grandes porfias
 Christo mostrandose ser peregrino: 15
 con ellos juntandose van su camino.
 Vereys como Christo les preguntara
 de que van hablando? reprehende los el
 porque tienen dubda ser Christo Messias.
 vereys por figuras y por prophecias 20
 que Christo les quita la duda en que estan
 vereys las questiones que le propornan
 y a Christo soltallas con dulces razones
 Alçad pues Christianos las contemplaciones
 pensad contemplando por esto fingido 25
 el summo Maestro saber infinito
 que cosas tan altas entonces diria

[Aiiij]

¹¹ There are not many instances of angels speaking prologues on the early Spanish stage, as in Gil Vicente's *Auto da Historia de Deos* (1537) and Francisco de las Cuebas' *Representacion de los martires Justo y Pastor* (1568). Stiefel *Zeitschr. f. rom. phil.*, xvii, 580) considers the prevalence of the angel as prologue-speaker in (at least German) medieval plays as proof that the prologue of religious plays is not derived from classical models.

con que dulcedumbre les enseñaria
aquel que es el mesmo saber verdadero.
Vereys los discipulos topando vn Romero 30
con tanta prudencia, estar espantados:
vereys que a Emaus depues de llegados
Christo se finge passar adelante:
Vereys como ellos con lindo semblante
le ruegan que quiera con ellos quedar : 35
Vereys que sentados despues a cenar
el pan ya partido le conoceran
y ellos alegres hablar le querran
y desaparece Jesus adesora.
Vereys como quieren tornar a la hora 40
a Hierusalem para lo contar,
y juntos alegres con gozo sin par
cantan vn salmo contentos y ufanos:
Estad pues atentos deuotos Christianos
que muy presto a Lucas vereys començar. 45

¶ Comiença la obra.

Lucas. O gran desuentura.
Cleophas. O mal desastrado
Lucas. Que te parece hermano Cleophas
que gran mal es este?
Cleophas. No puede ser mas,
el nuestro buen padre ya crucificado.
Lucas. Vees nuestro gozo del todo acabado. 50
Cleophas. En humo se es yda la nuestra esperança
Lucas hermano mi seso no alcança
que puede ser esto, estoy agenad[o]
Un hombre tan justo que nunca pecco
Propheta muy santo.
Lucas. Por cierto tal era, 55
que nunca palabra sin ser verdadera
en su santa boca jamas se hallo.
Cleophas. Y dalle la muerte segun se le dio
en contra de toda razon y justicia
por vna imbidiosa peruersa malicia 60
que nuestra Sinoga con este tomo.
Lucas. Y del que pensaras si ansi no muriera?

- Cleophas. Yo siempre pensara hauer de ser el
el santo Mesias que espera Israel.
segun los milagros y vida hiziera
por hijo de Dios le siempre tuuiera
agora no siento que pueda creer
ser hijo de Dios y ansi padecer
muerte entre muertes cruel lastimera. 65
- Lucas. En esto estoy yo, razon es muy clara
si el fuera hijo de Dios por ventura
viendolo el padre en tanta pressura
quien piensa ni cree que no le ayudara?
- Cleophas. Mas bien lo mirando quien resucitara
siendo puro hombre a Lazaro muerto
en la sepultura hediondo por cierto
alli poderio diuino mostrara. 75
- Lucas. Yo estuue presente y tu lo verias.
- Cleophas. Si estuue, y vi luego como le mando
sal fuera Lazaro, y resucito
oyendo su voz. 80
- Lucas. Pues que mas querias?
- Cleophas. Hermano no ves que el propheta Helias
resucito muertos, tambien Heliseo
por esso no fueron tenidos yo leo
por hijos de Dios, ni menos Mesias 85
- [Aiiij] Lucas. Tambien tu no sabes que el padre rogo
la noche del Jueves quando fue preso
que el no muriesse?
- Cleophas. Verdad es en esso
muy claramente ser hombre mostro
Mas sabeys hermano lo que pienso yo
si el no quiesiera ansi padecer
pudiera queriendo desaparecer
segun que otras vezes desaparecio. 90
- Lucas. Desaparecio y subitamente
quando con piedras matalle quisieron
dentro en el templo que mas no le vieron 95
- Cleophas. Y ansi lo pudiera hazer al presente
por donde parece voluntariamente
auer el querido su muerte y passion.

	<i>La Aparicion que Hizo Jesu Christo</i>	235
Lucas.	Hermano Cleophas muy buena razon es essa que dezis verdaderamente Que todas las cosas segun han passado el se las dixo primero muy bien catad que subimos a Hierusalem do el hijo del hombre sera condenado Alli sera preso y crucificado si el pues sabia su muerte a la clara primero que fuesse muy bien la escusara si el no quisiera tomalla de grado.	100 105
Cleophas.	Muy bien me parece: mas ya que pongamos el no ser hijo de Dios, yo no se porque no diremos que este tal fue el santo Mesias, y Rey que esperamos? el tiempo es cumplido si bien lo contamos la vida y milagros que las prophecias escriuen y ponen del santo Mesias en nuestro maestro Jesus las hallamos	110 115
Lucas.	Tambien ay en esso porque replicar como diremos Mesias ser el que el Rey Mesias que espera Israel de gran captiuero nos ha de sacar Vemos le muerto: nosotros quedar siempre sugetos al pueblo Romano ay tantas cosas contrarias hermano no siento ni alcanço que determinar. Atonito estoy y muy agenado no se que me pueda dezir en verdad por vna parta la su santidad por otra su muerte me tiene turbado. Estoy con su muerte muy lastimado las lagrimas mias no pueden cessar.	120 125 130
Cleophas.	Ay Lucas hermano bien ay que llorar perdiendo maestro de nos tan amado. Yo sabes en esto lo que determino que nuestro maestro fue santo varon propheta muy grande por conuersacion dulce, suaue, humilde y benigno	135

121 Text: *has.*

Lucas. Tal le hallamos nosotros contino
y el mesmo Pilato que le examino
peccado ninguno jamas le hallo
Quien es el que viene por esse camino? 140

Christo aparece.

Peregrino. Amigos Dios os salue.

Lucas. Y vos bien vengays.

Peregrino. Ado bueno vays?

Lucas. Nosotros llegamos
hasta Emaus.

Peregrino. Pues juntos nos vamos
por esse camino yo voy donde vays 145

Lucas. Pues vamos.

Peregrino. Dezidme de que platicays,
que todo el camino venis razonando
entre vosotros tambien altercando
deno se que cosas: y tristes estays.

Cleophas. Y como, tu solo eres peregrino 150
[Av] en Hierusalem que nunca supiste
las cosas que enella por caso muy triste
en aquestos dias an acaecido.

Peregrino. Dezidme que cosas de gracia vos pido

Cleophas. Las cosas de aquel Jesus Narazeno 155
que fue varon justo, muy santo y muy bueno
en todas sus cosas muy esclarecido:

Aquel gran propheta por predicacion
doctrina y milagros el mas excelente
para con Dios y toda la gente 160
de quantos ya fueron, seran, y son:

De como fue preso por intercession
de los Sacerdotes que lo procuraron
los principes nuestros le crucificaron
y le condenaron a muerte y passion. 165

Nosotros tuuimos del mientras vivio
muy firme esperanza de hauer de ser el
el gran Redemptor del pueblo Israel
hasta que vimos como padecio:

Que visto que muerte tan cruda murio 170
con tantos tormentos y tan abatido

147 Text: *razonado*.

- ya nuestro gozo del todo es perdido
ya nuestra esperança del todo falto.
- Peregrino. Y quien soys vosotros. Parece que tristes
estays de su muerte?
- Lucas. Por cierto si estamos 175
y harto.
- Peregrino. Pues luego vosotros entrambos
discipulos suyos parece que fuystes.
- Lucas. Si fuymos sin duda.
- Peregrino. Dezidme y oystes
sus predicaciones.
- Lucas. Por cierto si oymos 180
su buena doctrina tambien aprendimos
- Peregrino. Amigos pues luego muy mal entendistes
o ciegos de ingenio grossero y botado
y no codiciosos en bien entender
o duros y tardos en querer creer 185
lo que los prophetas han prophetizado
Ya como no veys que a Christo fue dado
que fuesse abatido por muerte y passion
y ansi padeciendo por resurreccion
subiesse en su gloria despues ensalçado. 190
¶ Como vosotros quica no supistes
subiendo Jesus a Hierusalem
que dixo su muerte por orden tambien
y todas las cosas segun que las vistes
- Lucas. Si dixo.
- Peregrino. Pues como tan presto perdistes
la fee y esperança que entonces os diera 195
que andays vazilando por esta manera
incredulos, ciegos, dudosos y tristes.
- Cleophas. Segun tus palabras tu bien entendias
la ley y prophetas.
- Peregrino. Un poco se cierto.
- Cleophas. Pues di donde pone aver de ser muerto 200
durissima muerte de Cruz el Messias
Los Satrapas nuestros por las prophecias

183 Text: *codiciosus*.

186 Text: *Yo*.

- assignan que Christo sera prosperado
su reyno: su nombre de Dios ensalçado
segun a la letra lo pone Esayas. 205
- Lucas. Y mas quel Messias y rey que esperamos
los prophetas dizen que nos saluara
y a todos nosotros nos redemira
que mas captiuerio despues no tengamos
por estas razones dudosos estamos 210
que vemos la muerte cruel que murio
y vemos nosotros que no nos saluo
antes sugetos a Roma quedamos.
- Peregrino. O simples y ciegos: por ciegos regidos
que ciegos son todos los vuestros Rabbis 215
y ciegos vosotros y quantos seguís
sus exposiciones y falsos sentidos
no se os acuerda, o desconocidos
que vuestro Maestro Jesu muy jocundo
nunca hablaua del reyno del mundo 220
ni delos bienes enel contenidos.
¶ Ni los prophetas tampoco entendian
auer de librarlos con su poderio
Christo de Roma ni su señorío
segun que los vuestros Rabbis os dezian 225
Mas que por muerto de Christo serian
libres las gentes del mal Luzifer
de su captiuerio de mas decender
a los infiernos a do decendian.
¶ Ansi con su muerte el manso cordero 230
Jesus el humano linage saluo
por quanto sin culpa la culpa pago
al mismo su padre del padre primero.
- Lucas. Que te parece maguera romero
que sabias razones?
- Cleophas. Algun sabidor 235
deues ser cierto: holgamos señor
auernos hallado tan buen compañero.

202 *Sátrapas*: In Diego Sánchez de Badajoz' *Farsa de San Pedro* (*Recopilación*, ed. Barrantes, II, 211 ff.) the character who claims tribute from Jesus (*Matthew* 17. 24-27) also bears this Persian title.

204 Text: *reyna*.

Peregrino. Tambien yo me huelgo con tal compañía
por ser como fuystes de Christo Jesu
discipulos.

Cleophas. Dinos hablastele tu 240
a nuestro maestro señor algun dia.

Peregrino. Hable muchas vezes por esso dezia
del lo que digo.

Lucas. pues dizes ser el
el santo Messias que espera Israel

Peregrino. Amigos yo cierto por tal le tenia 245

Cleophas. Muriendo tal muerte gran cosa dezias.

Peregrino. No veys vosotros que fue necessario
quel mundo librasse del mal aduersario
muriendo la muerte de Cruz el Messias.
Quereys que os lo muestre.

Cleophas. Merced nos harias 250

Peregrino. Primero os quiero de las escripturas
del santo Moysen traeros figuras
despues entraremos en las prophecias
¶ Aquesto primero nos da figurado
el libro primero del santo Moysen 255
diziendo del arbol que en medio se tien
aquel parayso terreno nombrado
Era aquel arbol de Dios ordenado
que quien del comiesse no enuegeceria
antes eterna la vida ternia 260
por esso fue arbol de vida llamado.

¶ La Cruz a do nuestro Maestro murio
por arbol de vida se bien figuraua
que in medio terre salutem obraua
segun en sus Psalmos Daud lo canto. 265

Que en medio del mundo la Cruz se hincó
de Christo Jesus adonde la vida
la vida perfecta, la gloria cumplida
al genero humano muriendo causó.

Lucas. O cosa admirable, muy gran razon lleua 270

aquesso que dizes: procede Rabbi

Peregrino. Estando durmiendo Adam dize alli
que de su costado saco Dios a Eua.

Lucas. Si dize.

Peregrino. Pues esto figura y prueua
que Christo por muerte de Cruz dormiria 275
y de su costado tambien saliria

su esposa la yglesia del todo ya nueua
Que sus sacramentos alli pullularon
por el agugero del santo costado
oystes, o vistes manar de su lado 280
la sangre y el agua que cierto manaron

Cleophas. Sabemos lo cierto.

Peregrino. Pues representaron
[Avij] el agua, el baptismo, la sangre se da
a vn sacramento do siempre estara
la sangre de Christo que crucificaron 285

Cleophas. O sabio Maestro Rabi singular
muy grandes consuelos nos dan tus razones
tus buenas doctrinas, tus exposiciones
por Dios que no cesses de tu platicar.

Peregrino. Lo mesmo figura tambien sin dudar 290
la arca que hizo Noe de madera
la qual en el lado la puerta tuuiera
que nadie sin ella se puede saluar.

Que desta manera la mando hazer
Dios: figurando la Cruz y madero 295
adonde el Messias, y Dios verdadero
tomasse la muerte sin la merecer
que nadie remedio pudiesse tener
ni menos salvarse sin la arca de Cruz
la qual en el lado de Christo Jesus 300
tuuiesse la puerta para guarecer.

Tambien Abraham si Dios le pedia
que su vnico hijo le sacrificasse
y quiso despues que Isaac se saluasse
muriendo el carnero que cerca vey a 305

fue porque en Christo no padeceria
la diuinidad que Isaac demostraua
mas la humanidad que significaua
por este carnero que entonces moria
Jacob Patriarcha haziendo mencion 310

274 Text: *preueua*.

- y prophetizando la Cruz de Jesus
puso las manos en forma de Cruz
dando a los nietos la su bendicion
El santo Moysen por esta razon
alço de madero la Cruz y señal 315
con vna serpiente que fue de metal
con que de serpientes saluo su nacion
¶ Lo qual figuraua que nuestro Messias
de las infernales serpientes de grado
salua las gentes en cruz leuantado 320
segun que le vistes morir estos días.
- Lucas. O sabio Maestro segun exponias
la tora y sus textos y pones las glosas
te digo por cierto que en muy muchas cosas
a nuestro Maestro Jesus parecias 325
¶ El declaraua los textos ansi.
- Peregrino. Yo siempre seguia sus predicaciones
note sus milagros, note sus razones
maguer que discipulo suyo no fuy
Y creo sin duda y siempre crey 330
ser el el Messias porque las señales
que escriuen de Christo las mesmas y tales
yo con mis ojos en este las vi.
¶ Los coxos andauan, los sordos oyan
vi muchos ciegos por el alumbrados 335
por el eran sanos los endemoniados
y limpios los gafos: los muertos viuian.
- Cleophas. Aquessos milagros tambien los hazian
muy muchos prophetas.
- Peregrino. aunque los hizieron
todos de Christo Jesus escriuieron 340
por quanto ser hijo de Dios ya sabian
¶ Tambien los Prophetas yo digo y consiento
que Dios por sus ruegos milagros mostraua
Jesus por su propia virtud los obraua
con sola fuerça de su mandamiento 345
Sanaua enfermos muy muchos sin cuento
con sola virtud que del procedia
mirad lo que dixo despues que vey a
aquel que era ciego de su nacimiento?

- Cleophas. Verdad es que muchos señor confessauan
viendo sus obras diuinas perfectas
Jesus ser propheta mayor de prophetas
empero ser Dios los mas dudauan. 350
- Peregrino. No vistes que hijo de Dios le llamauan
los mismos espíritus malignos por nombre? 355
- Cleophas. Verdad es: mas como Dios puede ser hombre
los entendimientos señor no bastauan.
- Peregrino. Tan alto mysterio que no le entendays
no es mucho, creedlo por fe, y assi quiera
supla en vosotros la fe verdadera: 360
lo que entiendo dezis que faltays
No seays incredulos si os acordays
que el vuestro maestro Jesus predicaua
vn grano de mijo teniendo de fe
podeys a los montes mudar do querays 365
La santa escriptura que es ley verdadera
contiene a la hora hauer de ser Christo
tambien Dios y hombre.
- Cleophas. pues nunca yo he visto
propheta ni texto que tal cosa quiera
- Peregrino. Por cierto propheta lo escriue.
- Cleophas. quien era 370
- Peregrino. Esayas dize ser Dios poderoso
y su nombre fuerte y maravilloso
principe grande paz muy entera
¶ Y en otra parte el mesmo Esayas
Emanuel le puso por nombre 375
quasi diziendo ser Dios y hombre
el rey prometido por las prophecias.
Y fue conueniente que fuesse el Messias
Dios porque al hombre remedio truxesse
y hombre tambien para que pudiesse 380
por culpa del hombre morir estos dias
No vistes que quando Jesus espiro
los cielos y suelo su luz denegaron
la tierra tremia, las piedras quebraron
el velo del templo tambien se partio 385
- Lucas. Si vimos.

359 *assi* = *assi si*, as in 345 and 347 *sola* = *sola la*.

365 Text: *quereys*.

- Peregrino. Pues ende ser Dios demostro
por quanto los cielos y tierra hizieron
aquel sentimiento que se condolieron
sintiendo la muerte de quien los crio
- Lucas. Pues yo te suplico me quieras sacar 390
de vna gran duda? pues Christo Dios era
porque pues queria morir, no pudiera
al genero humano su muerte saluar.
- Peregrino. Possible le fuera a Dios sin dudar
que todo es possible a su omnipotencia 395
mas fue conueniente cumplir su presencia
y siendo justicia la quiso guardar.
¶ Y como ordenado de Dios estuuiesse
segun en su ley lo hizo escreuir
el gran Redemptor hauia de morir 400
fue necessario que assi se cumpliesse
Y quiso justicia tambien que muriesse
que pues el queria saluar de la muerte
al hombre, pagasse por de tal suerte
que muerte con muerte se satisfaziesse. 405
¶ Ansi hasta el dia que Christo murio
y del enemigo cobro la victoria
almas ningunas entrauan en gloria
Jesus con su muerte los cielos abrio:
Dios a Moysen por esto mando 410
que hombre homicida entrar no pudiesse
en Hierusalem hasta que muriesse
el gran sacerdote que agora murio
Que a Christo Jesu el santo varon
David sacerdote le llama y eterno. 415
- Cleophas. Pues los Patriarchas señor al infierno
tambien decendian por esta razon,
- Peregrino. Si decendieron.
- Lucas. Es admiracion
aqueso que dizes.
- Perégrino. Pues no os espanteys
del gran patriarcha Jacob no leeys 420
que hizo a la letra de aqueso mencion?

390 Text: *quiera.*

404 Read *por[el]de tal suerte.*

- Lucas. Yo no lo ley: tu por ventura.
 Cleophas. Yo menos.
 Peregrino. Leystes de como le dieron
 los hijos al padre de aquel que vendieron
 de sangre teñida la su vestidura. 425
- Cleophas. Leymos.
 Peregrino. Pues ende la santa escritura
 pone que dixo, decendire yo
 a los infiernos, o do decendio
 mi hijo: llorando con mucha tristura.
- Lucas. O padre de sciencia: Maestro diuino 430
 espiritu de vida nos dan tus razones
 y tus verdaderas interpretaciones
 nos hazen que vamos cobrando ya tino
 Despues que aquel nuestro Maestro benigno
 a hombre no oymos doctrina tan alta 435
 la ley y prophetas declara sin falta
 Dios te nos traxo por este camino
 ¶ Y pues que tu eres tambien entendido
 ya porque duda ninguna dexemos
 tu nos declara por donde veremos 440
 ser este su tiempo del rey prometido
- Peregrino. Daniel fiel propheta si es bien entendido
 dize quitando de aquesse debate
 septuaginta hebdomade sunt abreuiate
 entonces el mundo sera redemido. 445
 ¶ Empero guardaos que el mal exponer
 la ley y prophetas de vuestros doctores
 Les hizo que ciegos cargados de errores
 hiziessen a Christo Jesus padecer
 Mas siendo contadas segun deuen ser 450
 aquestas semanas sin duda mataron
 a Christo Jesus quando se acabaron
 aquestas semanas del buen Daniel.
- Cleophas. Pues tu nos declara Rabi singular 455
 a estas semanas que cuenta les pones
 que estan muy discordes las exposiciones
 que en ellas los nuestros Rabis suelen dar.

428 Read *a do*.

429 Text: *tiistura*.

447 Text: *vuestro*.

457 Text: *nuestro*.

- Peregrino. Pues ende vereys por su discordar
sus falsos errores y claros engaños
que aquessas semanas serenas son de años 460
del rey Sedechias se han de contar
- Cleophas. Del rey Sedechias, porque desde aquel?
- Peregrino. Porque el quinto año que aqueste reyno
dize Hieremias, que Dios le mando
que su prophesia dicesse a Israel 465
Contad pues el tiempo, vereys que desde el
ciento y doze años passaron del mundo
hasta acabarse el templo segundo
que fue comenzado por Zorobabel.
Y desde ya el templo en su perfeccion 470
estuuu hasta agora passaron por cuenta
casi trezientos y ocho y setenta
años por curso de reuelacion.
Sumadlos que todos vereys como son
setenta semanas, y enesta postrera 475
el santo Mesias Jesus padeciera
segun que le vistes su muerte y passion.
- Cleophas. Por cierto Maestro yo nunca pensara
que hombre en el mundo pudiera ya ser
que sciencia y doctrina, saber y entender 480
con nuestro maestro Jesus ygualara
Que fue su doctrina muy alta y muy clara
y cierto la tuya Señor es ansi.
- Peregrino. No es marauilla que yo le seguia
por todas las partes a do predicara 485
- Lucas. Señor reuerendo ya tengo entendido
que fue necessario que Christo muriesse
mas no se la causa por donde quisiesse
morir vna muerte de Cruz abatido.
- Peregrino. fue conueniente al mal enemigo 490
que fue vencedor al hombre primero
vencelle en la Cruz : porque el que en madero
vencio : que en madero quedasse vencido.
- Cleophas. Pues di no bastaua con solo morir
hazer en el mundo la gran redempcion 495
- Peregrino. El su mas pequeño dolor y passion
bastaua a mil mundos muy bien redemir.

- Cleophas. Pues dime maestro : porque pues sufrir
quiso blasphemias, escarnios y males,
tormentos, dolores, y penas : las quales 500
de grande manzilla no puedo dezir?
- Peregrino. Todas las penas que veys que le dieron
a Christo Jesus, primero ordenadas
fueron de Dios : y del reueladas
a los prophetas que las escriuieron. 505
Y que los santos prophetas dixeron
y prophetizaron hauer de passallas
el mesmo cordero no quiso escusallas
mas que se cumplissen, y assi se cumplieron.
El buen Zacharias nos prophetizo 510
que el santo Mesias seria vendido
por treynta dineros : y ansi fue cumplido
que vistes que Judas traydor le vendio.
el gran Rey propheta Daud figuro
que hauia de estar descalço y rezando 515
In monte Oliueti : cumpliase ya quando
Jesus en la noche del Jueues oro
Tambien Hieremias en lamentacion
dize en sus Trenos que Christo sera
preso por nuestros peccados : y ya 520
vistes el Jueues su triste prision
de ser açotado vos hizo mencion
Daud que en persona de Christo dezia
en los sus Psalmos : oy todo el dia
me an açotado sin auer compassion 525
Aquella Sibilla Cumana declara
daran bofetadas a Dios su Mesias
y sucios escupos : y dize Esayas
que nunca por esso boluio la su cara.
Si vistes que burla y escarnio sacara 530
Herodes de Christo cumplimiento : propheta
factus sum vt vir ebrius : dezia
el buen Hieremias que lo prophetara.
- Lucas. O sabio maestro, y quan consolados
estamos agora con esta que oyamos 535
que desde que el nuestro maestro perdimos
andamos llorosos, dudosos, turbados

535 Text: *oyemos*.

No solo nosotros: mas los señalados
 Apostoles suyos que mas le siguieron
 desde la hora que preso le vieron 540
 atonitos andan y muy derramados
 Andan perdidos señor estos dias.
 Peregrino. fue necessario que ansi lo anduuiesen.
 Lucas. porque di maestro?
 Peregrino. Porque se cunpliessen
 todos los textos de las prophcias. 545
 Cleophas. Ay dello texto?
 Peregrino. El buen Zacharias
 dixo que al gran pastor heririan,
 y que sus ouejas se derramarian
 do dixo por este pastor el Mesias:
 Tambien si le vistes que acuestas lleuaua 550
 la cruz, de Esayas fue prophetizado
 sobre los ombros el su principado
 dize de Christo que entonces hablaua,
 Isaac la figura de aquesto nos daua
 que acuestas la leña lleuaua tambien, 555
 ser crucificado figura Moysen
 con la serpiente que en Cruz leuantaua.
 Entre ladrones segun le pusieron
 dixo Esayas que hauia de estar
 y dixo tambien que hauia de rogar 560
 por todos aquellos que muerte le dieron.
 Y delos escarnios que alli se hizieron
 estando enla Cruz lo prophetizo
 Daud en sus Psalmos, y como gusto
 la hiel y vinagre que alli le truxeron 565
 De guisa que estaua ya prophetizado
 hauer de passar el santo Mesias
 todas las cosas segun estos dias
 el manso cordero Jesus a passado:
 Y dize Esayas que ansi señalado 570
 con gracias diuinas se demostraria
 entre los hombres, que tanto seria
 con feos tormentos despues deshonorado

571 Text: *diuinas*.

- Cleophas. Yo creo sin duda que tu deues ser
Varon alumbrado de Dios ciertamente
segun los prophetas y ley claramente
calculas y entiendes, y das a entender?
Nunca supimos tan claro a mi ver
de nuestro muy santo Maestro Jesu
aquestos secretos segun ora tu
eneste camino nos hazes saber. 575
- Peregrino. Pues esto que digo del lo aprendi
Lucas. Y como te llaman.
- Peregrino. A mi Emanuel:
Lucas. Pues nunca nosotros te vimos con el:
Cleophas. Yo juraria que nunca te vi: 585
- Peregrino. Quica no pusistes las mientes en mi
andauan contino con el muchas gentes
de estrañas naciones, y muy diferentes
y yo mas que todos deuoto le fuy:
Y muy mas agora despues que murio
que se cumplia su muerte y passion
sera prosperado por resurreccion
y gloria muy grande que alli merecio. 590
- Cleophas. El dia tercero oy se cumplio
que muerte le dieron tan cruda y estraña
mas vnas mugeres de nuestra compañia
nos han dicho cosa que nos espanto:
Peregrino. Que dizen?
Cleophas. Que fueron oy antes del dia
a la sepultura y el cuerpo no hallaron:
mas Angeles vieron que les denunciaron
diziendo que nuestro maestro viuia:
Y ciertos varones dela compañia
luego al sepulchro corrieron por cierto
y nunca hallaron el cuerpo del muerto
alguno pensamos que lo llevaria. 600
- Peregrino. Incredulos ciegos y como creeys
que el cuerpo de Christo Jesus es hurtado
y al tercero dia resucitado,
segun el os dixo creer no quereys?
leed al Propheta Ose, y hallareys
la resurreccion de vuestro Messias 605 610

- Jonas lo figura que estuuu tres dias
en la vallena segun hallareys
- Lucas. Rabi no nos culpes de nuestro dudar
que nuestra flaqueza mas ya no alcança
del todo perdimos la fe y esperança
despues que le vimos en cruz espirar
tu nos la hazes señor recobrar
que cierto creemos ser Christo Jesus
- Peregrino. Veys el castillo aqui de Emaus
yo mas adelante me quiero passar
- Cleophas. En todas tus cosas tomamos ya tino
que eres de sabios la sciencia y la cumbre
tu lo razones con tal dulcedumbre
que nunca sentimos señor el camino
Suplicote quieras maestro diuino
quedar con nosotros quel sol ya declina
no miras que es tarde?
- Lucas. Quien de tu doctrina
Maestro pudiesse gozar de contino
- Cleophas. Por Dios que te quedes:
- Peregrino. Que yo soy contento
- Cleophas. Recibe Maestro señor esta cena
maguer que no sea tan rica y tan buena
segun lo requiere tu mercimiento
- Lucas. Assientate padre.
- Peregrino. Ya me assiento
- Cleophas. Benedicite:
- Peregrino. Dominus Oculi en ti
do todos los hombres esperan: y ansi
gran Dios les embias tu mantenimiento
- Lucas. Hasta en la forma de la bendicion
señor tu pareces al santo Jesu
- Cleophas. Algun señalado varon eres tu
que tanto le imitas en conuersacion.
- Lucas. La gran soledad: la pena y passion
que por el tenemos en solo mirarte
parece que amansa: Rabbi tu nos parte
el pan con tus manos de consolacion:
- Peregrino. Tomad.

615 Text: *nuestro.*

- Lucas. Tu no miras quan bien parecia
el pan en su corte que esta reuanado?
- Cleophas. Verdad es por cierto, y ansi esta quebrado
segun que el nuestro Maestro partia
- Lucas. El es.
- Cleophas. Buen Jesus.
- Lucas. Mi bien
- Cleophas. Alegria 650
- Lucas. Maestro.
- Cleophas. Buen padre
- Lucas. muy dulce Señor
- Cleophas. Mi Dios y mi gloria.
- Lucas. Mi buen Redemptor
- Cleophas. Mi firme remedio.
- Lucas. Esperança mia
- Cleophas. O dulce consuelo de desconsolados
- Lucas. O gozo gozoso de nos affligidos. 655
- Cleophas. O firme remedio de nos ya perdidos.
- Lucas. Amparo suaue de desamparados.
- Cleophas. Pedimos te padre por tierra prostrados
la tu benedicion.
- Lucas. Pues que ya te vas.
- Cleophas. Señor ya nos dexas?
- Lucas. Que es esto Cleophas? 660
- Cleophas. Que gozos excelsos?
- Lucas. Y quan señalados?
- Porque nos as padre tan presto dexado
- Cleophas. O gloria tan presto desapareciste?
- Lucas. Por que los tus rayos tan presto escondiste,
do quedasse tu cuerpo tan glorificado? 665
- Cleophas. Agora te digo que certificado
esta nuestro bien con mucha firmeza.
- Lucas. O padre perdona la nuestra dureza
que tanto dudamos ser resucitado

646 *M* que bien.

650 *M* Mi alegría!

651 *M* Mi dulce.

658 *M* postrados.

665 *M* do queda.

666 *M* que verificado.

- Cleophas. O alto mysterio
Lucas. O dulce vision. 670
Cleophas. O ciegos nosotros de turbios sentidos
y no conocelle.
Lucas. O endurecidos
que nunca creymos su resurreccion.
Cleophas. Deuieramos le sacar por razon
que hombre pudiera tener en el mundo 675
tal voz, tal presencia, tal rostro jocundo
tan altas palabras de contemplacion?
Lucas. O santo maestro Jesus que te vimos
hermano Cleophas verdad nos dezian
las santas mugeres que visto le auian 680
maguer que nosotros las nunca creymos.
Cleophas. Mas como en oyrle nos embouecimos
por el camino quando nos hablaua
y las escripturas ansi declaraua
que todo aquel tiempo no le conocimos. 685
Lucas. Agora podemos dezir que tenemos
cierto el remedio, la gloria y el bien
Cleophas. Razon es que vamos a Hierusalem
y a nuestros hermanos aquesto contemos
Lucas. Vamos y yendo cantando alabemos 690
al resucitado: ya cessan los llantos
publiquese el gozo con psalmos y cantos
por Dios verdadero ya le confessemos.

¶ Deo gratias.

Impresso con licencia en Burgos, en casa de
Juan Bautista Varesio: Año, de M.DC.iiij.

682 *M* nos embebecimos.

AMERICAN TRAVELLERS IN SPAIN (1777-1867)

(Continued from page 64)

IV.—FURNISHINGS

According to American travellers, many of these inns were scantily furnished. Adams found little furniture in those where he stopped in 1779, and the floors of some of them were covered with nothing but loose straw.¹ Noah in 1814 put up at a *fonda* in Almería where he says he had a room assigned to him without furniture.² Ticknor writes in 1818: "Even in the large cities it is astonishing to see how much they are behindhand,—how rude and imperfect is their house furniture, and how much is absolutely wanting."³ Mackenzie was impressed with the scantiness of the furniture in 1826. His first room at the *Fonda de Malta*, the best hotel in Madrid, was a room with an uncovered tiled floor and naked beams above, furnished solely with two chairs and a bed in an alcove at one end.⁴ The room into which he moved a few days later was furnished somewhat better.⁵ His room at the best *fonda* in Barcelona impressed him as desolate in comparison with French bedchambers. Of the *Fonda* of the Four Nations on the Rambla he writes: "Being of modern construction we found large and commodious apartments. But to one accustomed to the convenience and luxury of a French bedchamber, my present room was but dreary and desolate." A comfortless bed, a few chairs and a table made up the furnishings in the room.⁶ Some of the country inns

¹ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 241.—Swinburne writes in 1776: "If we chance to find a few unbroken chairs we esteem ourselves uncommonly fortunate." P. 116; cf. Townsend, vol. ii, p. 43.

² Noah, p. 167; cf. *ibid.*, p. 171.

³ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 197; cf. *Scenes in Spain*, pp. 212, 300.

⁴ *A Year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 125. Cf. *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 113; Borrow, vol. i, p. 162; *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 106.

⁵ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 126; cf. *ibid.*, p. 38.

⁶ *Ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 37, 38; cf. *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 35.

he found practically destitute of furniture.⁷ Mrs. Cushing, about three years later, stopped in Madrid at a very large *fonda* called the *Fontana de Oro*. She makes no complaint of the furniture but to the contrary tells us the room was a handsome one with two neat sleeping and dressing rooms connected with it.⁸ Like Mackenzie, however, she found some of the smaller inns with little or no furniture.⁹ Vassar describes the main room of an Andalusian *venta* where he spent a night in 1842 as having a rude table with benches for the sole furniture; the chambers were completely bare.¹⁰ The rooms of the inns between Murcia and the capital he found generally with no furniture except cot-beds.¹¹ In 1849 the furniture of Warren's room at a Toledan inn consisted of a few worm-eaten chairs, a common brown table, and two dirty looking bedsteads.¹² Mrs. Le Vert in 1855 was impressed with her magnificent rooms at a *casa de huéspedes* in Madrid.¹³ The great improvement in the furnishing of rooms at the capital struck Pettigrew on his second visit to Spain in 1859. The rooms he found as elegant, though in a different style, as those furnished in Paris. At the time of his first visit in 1852 he was impressed, like Dumas some years before, with the rickety pieces of furniture.¹⁴ Also in smaller places in

⁷ *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 61; cf. Ford, p. 177.—Pecchio, about five years before, was impressed with the scanty furniture in the houses. In a letter dated Briviesca, May 9, 1821, he says: "Una casa del piú mediocre fittabile inglese vale piú che tutto un villaggio di Spagna." Giuseppe Pecchio, *Sei Mesi in Ispagna nel 1821*, Madrid, 1821, p. 6.

⁸ Vol. ii, p. 48.

⁹ Vol. ii, pp. 231, 232. Cf. Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 73; *Knickerbocker*, vol. xix, p. 122; Wallis, *Spain*, p. 6; Ford, p. 169.

¹⁰ P. 140.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 328.

¹² P. 111. Cf. p. 89; Schroeder, vol. ii, p. 111.—Dumas enumerates as follows the pieces of furniture in his poorly furnished room at Alcalá la Real in 1846: "D'abord une table vermoulue, deux ou trois chaises boiteuses, qui nous ont inspiré si peu de confiance, que l'on a monté pour les remplacer des bancs de la cuisine." *Impressions de Voyage*, vol. ii, p. 69.—At Sevilla he again complains of rickety chairs, which he does not consider safe to sit on. *Ibid.*, p. 222. Cf. Pettigrew, p. 91; Larra, pp. 286, 450.

¹³ Le Vert, vol. ii, p. 15.

¹⁴ P. 73.—Mrs. Byrne in 1866 found scanty and poor furniture at some of the inns. Byrne, vol. ii, pp. 263, 264.—Borrow speaks of the few pieces of furniture in the apartment where he stopped at Madrid in 1837. Borrow, vol. i,

1859 he notes the scanty furniture.¹⁵ Likewise Mrs. Allen was impressed with the scanty furniture at a *venta* where she stopped between Málaga and Granada in 1864.¹⁶ A piece of furniture which impressed several American travellers in Spain before the middle of the nineteenth century was a low table on which meals were served.¹⁷

The American traveller's impressions of the accommodations for sleeping were in many cases very unfavorable. The bed, a piece of furniture which he had always found so indispensable at home, was not infrequently entirely wanting. Adams found very few beds on his journey through Spain in 1779. Not until he reached León did he find one that was clean. At Briviesca, however, he found in a dirty tavern as many as twelve good beds, which were provided with clean sheets.¹⁸ Ticknor on his journey from Barcelona to Madrid in 1818 slept on a bedstead only twice in the course of thirteen days. The remaining nights were passed sleeping in his clothes on the stone floors, which were very uneven.¹⁹

The custom among the common people of sleeping on the floor is frequently noted by American travellers. Adams says the natives usually slept on the floor and sometimes only in straw like animals. At one inn where he stopped in Galicia one side of the fire was a

p. 162.—At Oviedo he also had a scantily furnished room. *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 73.—Gautier found bare rooms at an inn beyond Oviedo. On the walls of the dining-room, however, were some engravings, an unheard of luxury according to him. Gautier, p. 67.

¹⁵ P. 299.

¹⁶ P. 486.

¹⁷ Cf. *Scenes in Spain*, pp. 119, 130, 221; *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 63; *ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 90; *ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 176; Noah, p. 134; Ford, p. 181.—In *Scenes in Spain* we read that one which was spread at Archidona was only two feet high.—Dumas found these tables very uncomfortable. Vol. ii, p. 50.—We find this piece of furniture frequently mentioned in Spanish writings. Larra in *El Castellano* says: "Los días en que mi amigo no tiene convidados se contenta con una mesa baja, poco más que banqueta de zapatero; por que él y su mujer, como dice, ¿para qué quieren más?" Larra, p. 37. Cf. *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. ii, p. 231; Antonio Flores, *Ayer Hoy y Mañana*, Madrid, 1863, vol. i, p. 31.—This low table was still used at some inns, according to Mrs. Byrne, when she travelled in Spain in 1866. Vol. ii, pp. 254, 263.

¹⁸ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, pp. 242, 247, 253.

¹⁹ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 185; cf. Larra, p. 165.

cabin filled with straw where the innkeeper's wife and four children "all pigged in together."²⁰ Mackenzie at the inn at Guadarrama offered his guide a bed, but the latter preferred to sleep on the floor.²¹ For many, we are told, a bed was a superfluity.²²

The sight of the kitchen floor covered with sleeping muleteers is frequently mentioned by American travellers. Like the muleteer in the *venta* room where Don Quijote rested after his adventure with the *yangüeses*, their beds were made of the pack saddles and blankets of their mules.²³ Mrs. Cushing writes of the sight presented by one of these large kitchens early in the morning:

"When I entered the kitchen to take some chocolate for breakfast, I found the floor covered in every direction with muleteers, who, using their cloaks instead of a bed, were reposing in the deepest slumber, of which their audible breathing gave full evidence."²⁴

Rockwell was impressed by a similar sight. Each muleteer after a hearty meal and a joyful evening wrapt himself in his blanket and lay down in the most convenient place, the ground, the hearth or a bench, and slept until morning.²⁵ Vassar writes of his journey from Granada to Córdoba in 1842: "The first night we slept in a *venta*, upon a brick floor, among horses, mules, drivers, and others

²⁰ *Works*, vol. iii, p. 241.—More than thirty years later George Borrow on stopping at a *chosa* on his way to Finisterre from Padrón, was told there was no bed. The occupants had never slept in a bed. They either lay down around the hearth or in the straw with the cattle. Vol. ii, p. 118. Cf. Mackie, p. 142; Ford, p. 183.

²¹ *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, p. 39.

²² Pecchio in one of his letters in 1821 says that the soldiers slept on the floor in the houses of the rich Andalusians in preference to sleeping in a bed. He adds: "Dicevano che non potevano dormire in quelle macchine per loro sconosciute." P. 8.

²³ Cf. *Don Quijote*, part i, chap. xvi; Washington Irving, *Works*, New York, 1882, vol. vii, p. 535; *Scenes in Spain*, p. 234; Ford, p. 183.

²⁴ Vol. ii, p. 233. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 47, 181, 279; *A year in Spain*, vol. iii, p. 175; Ford, p. 183.—This recalls one of Pecchio's letters in which he says: "La maggior parte della gente rozza porta in tutte le stagioni sulle spalle una coperta di lana a vari colori che nel giorno le serve di mantello e nella notte di letto." Pp. 6, 7.

²⁵ Vol. i, p. 253. Cf. Longfellow, *Life*, vol. i, p. 129; *A year in Spain*, vol. iii, p. 236.

of bandit appearance."²⁶ There were no beds in the house. Bryant in 1857 observes that muleteers were sleeping on the floor of the inn at Aranda. "We got down stairs by stepping over the bodies of about a dozen muleteers, who, wrapped in their blankets lay snoring on the floor of an ante-chamber."²⁷ Mrs. Allen found no bed at an inn where she stopped between Málaga and Granada in 1864.²⁸

Even when the sleeping quarters were not in the kitchen, the traveller frequently found them very primitive at the smaller inns. Mackie on stopping at one of these inns in 1852 had the choice of sleeping with mules on the first floor or on the newly gathered grain in the second.²⁹ Sometimes a bed was prepared on the floor in this room above or in a room adjoining the kitchen.³⁰

Now and then a wretched flock-bed was furnished. It was such a one that the author of *Scenes in Spain* found at Alhama in 1831.³¹ The mattress furnished was often of the poorest description and exceedingly uncomfortable.³² Taylor found his at the *venta* in Gaucin much too short.³³

²⁶ P. 141. Cf. *Knick. Mag.*, vol. xix, p. 122; *National Magazine*, vol. xi, p. 360.—About four years later Dumas was impressed by the sight of a kitchen floor covered with sleeping muleteers. In passing out of the kitchen at Alcalá la Real early in the morning he had to step over a dozen muleteers asleep on the floor: "Ils s'étaient éparpillés dans la venta. Chacun selon son goût et sa commodité avait pris sa place; l'un couché tout de son long sur le côté gauche ou le côté droit, l'autre adossé au mur, l'autre étendu tout de son long sur le dos avec les deux mains sous sa tête en place de tout oreiller." Dumas, vol. ii, p. 71.

²⁷ Bryant, p. 114. Cf. *Scenes in Spain*, p. 234; Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 72, 73; Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 282.

²⁸ Allen, p. 486.

²⁹ Mackie, p. 349. Cf. Ford, p. 183; Flores, vol. i, p. 317.

³⁰ Cf. *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, p. 228; *ibid.*, vol. iii, pp. 176, 188; *Scenes in Spain*, pp. 29, 48, 118, 120; *Knick. Mag.*, vol. xix, p. 122; *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 410; Pettigrew, p. 299.

³¹ P. 234. Cf. *Borrow*, vol. i, p. 277; vol. ii, p. 50.

³² Cf. C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, pp. 38, 39, 337, 339; Bryant, p. 162; Mills, p. 70.—The impression of other foreigners in the country seems to have been similar. Cf. Bourgoing, vol. i, p. 3; Ford, p. 57; Byrne, vol. ii, pp. 271, 319.—Gautier describes the mattress on which he slept one night in 1840 as one of "ces pellicules de toile entre lesquelles flottent quelques tampons de laine que les hôteliers prétendent être des matelas, avec l'effronterie pleine de sang-froid qui les caractérise. P. 197.—Gautier's impressions of this bed were quite as

When a bedstead was furnished, it was, in many instances, but a rude piece of furniture or a makeshift. Mackenzie describes his at Madrid as a set of loose boards supported on two horses and painted green.⁸⁴ That on which Mrs. Cushing slept at the *posada* in Buytrago was a common wooden frame without posts.⁸⁵ Bryant was impressed at the *Posada de Alicante* in the town of Villera, Murcia, "with the rude bedsteads which were made of beam and plank by some coarse carpenter."⁸⁶

For many years the traveller who had to stop at small towns and villages was obliged to carry not only his bedclothes but also his mattress. Adams writes to the President of Congress from

unfavorable as were Don Quijote's impressions of one at the country *venta* where he stopped for a night. "Un colchón que en lo sutil parecía colchón, lleno de bodeques; que, á no mostrar que eran de lana por algunas roturas, al tiento, en la dureza, semejaban de guijarro, y dos sábanas hechas de cuero de adarza, y una frazada cuyos hilos, si se quisieron contar, no se perdiera uno solo de la cuenta." *Don Quijote*, part i, chap. xvi.—According to Mesenero Romanos the beds were sometimes so poor it was impossible to rest. *Panorama Matritense*, p. 108; cf. *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. ii, pp. 165, 235.

⁸³ Taylor, p. 444.—Pecchio had found the same difficulty some thirty years before. He writes in a letter headed Briviesca May 9, 1821: "Il letto era di un terzo piú corto della mia persona che non é gigantesca, come sapete, barcollante, et emulo del pavimento in durezza." P. 5.

⁸⁴ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 147; cf. Irving, *Works* vol. vii, pp. 536, 538.—Townsend's description of the makeshift bedstead he found at Junquera forty years before Mackenzie's visit to Spain is quite similar to that just given. He says: "No bedstead, but only three boards laid upon trestles to support a mattress." Vol. i, p. 92.—Gautier's description of a bedstead on which he slept one night during his journey through Spain in 1840 is exactly the same, "formé de trois planches posées sur deux tréteaux." P. 197.—The makeshift bedstead offered Mrs. Byrne at the *fonda* in Valdepeñas in 1864 was even worse. "The repast despatched, we thought it time to see the beds, and consequently asked to be conducted to our rooms; this was quite a poser, and elicited the most curious revelation. It turned out there were no rooms in the case! but the *beds*, we were told, should be brought in as soon as we wanted them; we begged to see them at once, on which, after a brief delay, three boards were brought in, and placed in an inclined position by resting one end on a bench; this proved to be the best they could produce." Vol. ii, p. 271.—One would conclude from the above descriptions that the bedstead which was sometimes provided for the traveller had improved little since the days of the Knight of La Mancha. Don Quijote says of a bedstead on which he slept one night at a country *venta*: "Solo contenía cuatro mal lesas tablas sobre dos muy iguales bancos." *Don Quijote*, part i, chap. xvi.

⁸⁵ Vol. ii, p. 39.

⁸⁶ Bryant, p. 162.

Bilbao January 16, 1779, that on the journey from La Coruña to that place he and his party were obliged to carry their beds with them.³⁷ Jay had to make such a provision for his journey from Cádiz to Madrid in 1780.³⁸ Monroe referring to a wretched inn at Irún in 1804 says: "However, it seemed to be my fate to remain there that night, and in consequence I ordered up my bedding, baggage, etc., with the intention to make the best arrangement I could."³⁹ Noah carried his bed with him during his travels in Spain. At a village inn where he stopped between Tortosa and Tarragona the mattresses were arranged on clean straw in the same room as the mules.⁴⁰ Irving, writing of a journey made from Granada to Valencia in 1829, tells us that his bed at night was the mattress he had brought with him in the cart.⁴¹ Rockwell notes the custom of carrying mattresses in the public conveyances. In 1836 he found them listed in the printed bills of baggage rates and in the receipts for fares.⁴² Vassar had to carry his mattress on a journey between Granada and Córdoba in 1842.⁴³

Somewhat better than the one room *venta* was the *posada* with a common dormitory. Sometimes, according to American travelers, it was a rudely arranged room quite like the *venta* room in which Don Quijote, Sancho, and the *arriero* slept, and sometimes it had several beds. The *posada* at Quintana where Mackenzie stopped for a night in 1826 had a common dormitory.⁴⁴ In 1834 he found a similar arrangement at Guadalajara, and also at Guadarrama. Of the inn at Guadarrama he writes: "According to the custom in Spanish post-houses established in connection with the diligences, we were all packed into a common dormitory."⁴⁵ March in 1852

³⁷ *Rev. dip. corres.*, vol. iii, p. 457. Cf. Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 244; *ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 242; Swinburne, pp. 116, 117, 231.

³⁸ *Correspondence*, vol. i, p. 333; cf. Bourgoing, vol. i, p. 8.

³⁹ *Diary*.

⁴⁰ Noah, p. 179. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 136, 163; Ticknor, *Travels*, p. 17.

⁴¹ *Life*, vol. ii, p. 179. Cf. Irving, *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 223; *Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 65, 66, 68, 80.

⁴² Rockwell, vol. i, p. 252; cf. *Panorama Matritense*, p. 106.

⁴³ Vassar, p. 142.—This custom of carrying one's mattress when travelling is also noted by Spanish writers. Cf. Flores, vol. i, p. 311; *Panorama Matritense*, p. 108; Larra, p. 6.

⁴⁴ *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, pp. 94, 95, 227. Cf. Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 253; Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 5; Ford, p. 57.

⁴⁵ *Spain revisited*, vol. ii, p. 52.

had difficulty in procuring a room to himself at the *posada* in La Luisiana.⁴⁶

The American traveller's impressions of the facilities for bathing at Spanish inns during this period were most unfavorable. In some of the small country inns the means for the morning ablutions were meagre or entirely wanting. Irving writes in his journal at *Venta del Conde* near Canales: "great delay and difficulty in getting wash-basins, water, towels, etc., cleanliness of person not being considered among the wants of the traveller." Their presence is mentioned as though it were a fact worthy of note just as the absence of *pulgas* is mentioned by others. Mackenzie tells us that in the very neat inn at Quintanar there were basins of glazed earthenware and pitchers of water, with a clean towel of coarse linen for each passenger, hanging from nails against the wall.⁴⁷ Dix in 1843 found plenty of clean towels and large wash basins at his lodgings in Cádiz but this was almost the only house in Spain where he did find them.⁴⁸ The following year Schroeder was very gratified to find at the very clean little inn at Loja a good supply of towels and stone ewers.⁴⁹ At a *venta* where Smedberg stopped there was no basin and he was obliged to go down to the stream and bathe.⁵⁰ Many of the wash basins were very small like that which was provided in Mackie's room at the principal *fonda* of Barcelona in 1851.⁵¹

⁴⁶ March, p. 230.—Townsend and Ford mention the common dormitory of the Spanish *posada*. Townsend, vol. ii, *passim*; Ford, p. 57.—Flores writes of the conditions at the old inn: "Terminada la cena se retiraron á dormir, los hombres á un cuarto, y las mujeres á otro, y obligados, por la necesidad, á hacer cama redonda los de cada departamento, pasaron la noche en dos piezas, contiguas á las cámaras de grano, ó tal vez en los graneros mismos." Vol. i, pp. 317, 318.—An inn which impressed Gautier in 1840 was an improvement on the one just mentioned in that it had several sleeping rooms, but even these had each four or five beds: "Cette fois la posada était beaucoup plus espagnole que celles que nous avions vues jusqu'alors: elle consistait en une immense écurie entourée de chambres blanchies au lait de chaux, et contenant chacune quatre ou cinq lits." Gautier, p. 67.

⁴⁷ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 116.

⁴⁸ P. 220.

⁴⁹ Schroeder, vol. ii, p. 110.

⁵⁰ *Nat. Mag.*, vol. ii, p. 360; *cf.* Ford, p. 177.

⁵¹ Mackie describes it as a very narrow basin resting on a slender stand. "But," he adds, "in a country so much better provided with wine than it is

At times there was difficulty in securing enough water. Bryant was greatly annoyed by this at one of the inns where he stopped in 1857. The incident is recounted as follows in a letter dated "Cartagena, Old Spain, November 28, 1857:"

"The greatest difficulty we had was in obtaining a sufficient supply of water for our morning ablutions. A single large washbowl, half filled with water, was placed on a stand in the corner of the great room, and this was expected to serve for all. We called for more water, and a jar was brought in, from which the washbowl was filled to the brim. We explained that each one of us wanted a separate quantity of pure water, but the stout waiting-woman had no idea of conforming to our outlandish notions, and declined doing any thing more for us. It was only after an appeal to the landlady, that a queer Murcian pitcher, looking like a sort of sky-rocket, with two handles, five spouts, and a foot so small that it could hardly stand by itself, was brought in, and for greater security made to lean against the wall in the corner of the room."⁵²

Even scarcer than wash basins and water at these inns were the facilities for bathing. Toward the middle of the century, however, according to the American travellers, there was marked progress in this respect, as well as in other ideas of comfort. Between 1833 and 1843, in particular, there was great improvement.⁵³ No *fonda* showed this more than did the *Fonda de la Alameda* at Málaga where Wallis stopped in 1847. This *fonda* had been opened only

with water—and in a country where even the highest dames are said merely to rub their faces with a moist napkin instead of laving them—what more could be expected? I should have been thought as crazy as he of La Mancha to have found fault with such arrangements." P. 141.

⁵² Bryant, pp. 162, 163.—This experience of Bryant recalls a similar one recounted in *Los aires del lugar* of the *Panorama Matritense*: "Pedimos agua para lavarnos, nos trajeron una jofaina sucia y ordinaria que pusieron sobre una silla, y para hacer que mudaran el agua a cada uno, tuvimos que sostener tantas cuestiones como individuos éramos." Pp. 107, 108.—At Valladolid in 1866 Mrs. Byrne had to ask for an extra supply of washing appliances. At the *fonda* in Córdoba she found no provisions whatever for ablutions. "The rooms," she says, "were wholly unprovided with any furniture suggestive of ablution, and it was not easy even to make our need of such accessories understood." Vol. ii, p. 294.—It was only after a great deal of trouble that they were given washing stands, water, and towels. Mrs. Byrne found the houses not frequented by English travellers were usually deficient in these facilities. Vol. i, p. 106; vol. ii, p. 294. Cf. Ford, p. 142.

⁵³ Cf. Dix, p. 220.

about a month when he reached that city. It owed its establishment, he tells us, to a company of enterprising young men of the city who while abroad had imbibed new ideas as to the needs of a modern inn. An abundant supply of water carried in pipes to the upper floors was plentifully provided in every room.⁵⁴ Other American travellers were greatly impressed by the provisions for bathing at this hotel. Taylor, who stopped here in 1852, found a good bath.⁵⁵ March, who sojourned here the following year while in Málaga, considers it a good hotel and mentions particularly the foot baths which, he informs us, are not generally found at Spanish hotels.⁵⁶ It impressed Bryant in 1857 as one of the best hotels in Spain.⁵⁷

At Granada, baths—in the time of the Moors found in every street and indeed in every house—were not in 1853 general in the *fondas*, though these were in other respects good. These facilities had only recently been introduced at the principal inn, the *León de Oro*. "Baths, that necessary luxury of hotels," writes March, "have but recently been attached to the *fondas* of Spain, nor are now a general institution with them."⁵⁸ In 1851 Mackie notes the absence of this necessity at the principal *fonda* in Barcelona.⁵⁹ And yet Irving, soon after his arrival there in 1829, writes in his journal: "took a warm bath—excellent baths—well tiled."⁶⁰ Among the improvements which impressed Pettigrew on his second visit to Spain in 1859 were the "footbath and the other appliances of a first rate hotel" at Zaragoza.⁶¹

⁵⁴ Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, pp. 90, 93.

⁵⁵ "At the *Fonda de la Alameda*, a new and very elegant hotel, I found a bath and a good dinner, both welcome things to a tired traveller." P. 434.

⁵⁶ P. 341.

⁵⁷ Bryant, p. 193.

⁵⁸ P. 360.

⁵⁹ P. 141.

⁶⁰ *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 90.—This bath, however, was probably not at the inn but in a *casa de baños*.

⁶¹ P. 73.—Ford found warm baths pretty generally established in the larger towns when he was in Spain. P. 142.—According to Mesenero Romanos great reforms were instituted in connection with the baths at the capital in 1835. However, judging from his difficulty in finding one he must have considered them far too few. In his interesting sketch, *Las Casas de baños*, he says that after much trouble in going from one to another his efforts are crowned with

Some of the early American travellers in Spain were impressed by the primitive and inadequate cutlery. Noah in 1814 took dinner at a village where he was obliged to eat with wooden spoons and forks. "Silver," he says, "is an unknown luxury and other metals are equally scarce."⁶² Ticknor is astonished in 1818 to see how much they are behind in this respect even in the large cities.

"The chief persons in a village—I mean the respectable ecclesiastics the *alcaldes*—often have no glass-ware in their houses, no dinner-knives, and little of earthen manufactory [*sic*] while a metal fork is a matter of curiosity."⁶³

At the *posada* in the village of Ondrubia Mrs. Cushing found three knives for seven people and at the next inn conditions were even worse.⁶⁴ The author of *Scenes in Spain* had placed before him at one of these primitive inns a plate and a horn spoon. When he asked for a knife they brought him a jackknife, but this he was obliged to surrender a few minutes later to the stable boy to whom it belonged.⁶⁵ Channing on the contrary was impressed in 1852 by the plentiful supply of cutlery. He writes: "The table was always neat, and, amidst the mountains, silver or plated forks were as plenty as in the city."⁶⁶

success. On entering the room of one of the newest and best baths in the city he is struck with the improvement that has been made: "Entré en la pieza del baño; encontré en ella sillas para sentarme y colocar mi ropa, una mesa para poner el dinero y el reloj; espejo, cepillos, peines, sacabotas, una pila hermosa de alabastro. ¡Yo estaba absorto! . . . creía no encontrarme en Madrid . . . Por fin, me metí en el agua y . . . callé." *Panorama Matritense*, p. 372.—Mrs. Byrne in 1866 presents quite a different picture of the baths at the capital. She finds them few and little used. Moreover, she is impressed by their bad condition. One which is considered the best she finds very much dilapidated and another has no fireplace or gas. Two others she describes as in tolerably fair working order, but all, in her judgment, are on a small scale. Vol. i, pp. 218, 219.

⁶² P. 182. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 166; *Knickerbocker*, vol. xix, p. 125.

⁶³ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, pp. 197, 198, cf. Ford, p. 56.

⁶⁴ Vol. ii, pp. 34, 35, 37. Cf. *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 68; *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 61, 62.

⁶⁵ P. 130. Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 119, 121; Ford, pp. 56, 181; *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. ii, pp. 234-238.

⁶⁶ Channing, p. 491.

C. EVANGELINE FARNHAM

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

(To be continued)

TWO *COMMEDIE DELL'ARTE* ON THE *MEASURE* FOR *MEASURE* STORY

THE two unpublished scenarios that I submit herewith are undoubtedly based upon Giraldi Cintio's *Episia*, either novella or drama, and as undoubtedly have nothing directly to do with Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure*, yet as seventeenth century treatments of the popular tragic story presented by both Cintio and Shakespeare they have a considerable interest. The first is taken from the collection of scenarios identified by A. Valeri as Basilio Locatelli's work,¹ one of the most used, apparently, of his large repertory, for it was copied in the selection from his scenarios still existing at the Corsiniana in Rome and very probably was the basis of the later play, of which I give a copy, from the Neapolitan collection discovered by Benedetto Croce and by him given to the Biblioteca Nazionale in Naples.² This second play belongs to the last quarter of the seventeenth century, whereas Locatelli's dates from about 1622.

Both pieces offer proof of the willingness of the travelling professional actors who created the *commedia dell'arte* to take material from whatever academic *novelle* or dramas they thought would be effective on the stage. The dramatic irony, amounting almost to a grim practical joke, inherent in the *Measure for Measure* story, evidently appealed to them with comic rather than with tragic force: it will be seen they lost no chance to amuse their audience by their usual disguises, quarrels, forced love-making, etc., even though all the while they were accepting the tragic end of their plot as inevitable and desirable for reasons of poetic justice. The consequent lack of unity of tone would have troubled Scala and the *Gelosi* or Andreini and the *Fedeli*, but evidently did not annoy the presenters of

¹ Valeri, A., *Gli scenari inediti di Basilio Locatelli*, Roma, 1894.

This collection in two volumes of MSS. was discovered in the Casanatense Library in Rome, marked F. IV, 12-13; the scenario in question is No. 53 of vol. II. Cf. E. Re's list of known *commedie dell'arte* taken from Giraldi's *Episia*, *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, vol. 62, p. 178, note.

² Croce, B., *Una nuova raccolta di scenari*, *Gior. stor.*, vol. 29, pp. 211 ff.

Locatelli's scenario or their Neapolitan imitators; both of these plays are naïvely satisfactory in their pageant-like ending, in both the demands of morality are superficially met by the punishment of the villains, and any preceding flippancy of incident and mood is regarded as mere adornment. Whether either play could ever have been given in Paris or out of Italy it is impossible to determine in view of the lack of knowledge about the writers of the two pieces.

Before concluding this brief introductory note it is a pleasure to thank for their help in copying the scenarios Sig. Umberto Pagnoni of the Casanatense staff in Rome and Dott. G. M. Monti of Naples, both of whom were more than courteous to me in their assistance while I was in Italy last spring. The punctuation and spelling are reproduced exactly in both scenarios.

WINIFRED SMITH

VASSAR COLLEGE

IL GIUSTO PRINCIPE

TRAGEDIA

di

Basilio Loccatello Romano.

Personaggi.

- | | | |
|--------------------------|-------------------|----------|
| 1. Principe. | 8. Cintia figlia. | |
| 2. Franzese Giudice. | 9. Burattino. | } Servi. |
| 3. Capitano Corteggiano. | 10. Franceschina. | |
| 4. Corte. | 11. Gratiano. | |
| 5. Zanni. | 12. Lelio figlio. | |
| 6. Filippo moglie. | 13. Messo. | |
| 7. Pantalone. | 14. Villano. | |

La scena si finge Padova.

Robbe.

Una sedia d'appoggia di velluto.
 Divano per il Giudice e per il Principe.
 Due archibugi.
 Prigione, Portone per prospettivo.
 Trombetta, bacile per la testa, manto nero.
 Una tavola segata ed il bacile.

ATTO PRIMO

- PRINCIPE
FRANZESE
ZANNI
CORTE** di palazzo dice come alcuni suoi castelli si vogliono ribellare, però esser risoluto andar lui in persona, per rimediare al tutto, lascia Franzese per governare raccomandandoli la giustizia e così lo fa bargello, che devino tener quieto lo stato suo sotto pena della sua disgrazia, tutti partono per accompagnare il Principe sino alla porta della città per strada.
- PANTALONE** di casa dice voler maritare Cintia sua figliuola per essere assai grande, colui esser stato all'oraculo quale li ha dato risposta che lei ha d'avere due mariti in un giorno, sta confuso, non sa quello che vogli significare, Burattino dice sarà un marito per il giorno e l'altro per la notte, alla fine dopo l'atti battono in questo
- CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA** di casa intende volerla maritare, li sono proposti molti mariti parte da Pantalone e parte da Burattino. Ora gli si propone lui stesso facendo atti delli due mariti, che lui ne meno la piglierebbe. Cintia rifiuta tutti, alla fine gli è proposto Lelio gentiluomo del Principe e figliuolo di Gratiano. Cintia esser contenta. Cintia, Franceschina in casa. Pantalone, Burattino per onor Lelio partono per strada.
- ZANNI** di strada dice aver accompagnato il Principe, si ralegra dell' officio datoli in questo
- FILIPPA** di palazzo intende come Zanni suo marito e fatto dal principe bargello, colui dice che vuole che lei si vesta da uomo e facci il suo luogotenente per il guadagno, fanno atti. Filippa si contenta di fare il tutto entrano in palazzo.
- FRANZESE
CAPITANO** di strada dice di aver accompagnato il principe alla porta della città, di poi Franzese si mostra essere innamorato di Cintia figliuola di Pantalone, batte in q°.
- CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA** di casa intende l'amor del Franzese e esser stato fatto Governatore dal Principe, lei con bel modo

non vuol intender nulla. Cintia, Franceschina in casa, Franzese in collera dice volerla godere per forza, Franzese, Capitano in palazzo.

PANTALONE
BURATTINO

di strada che si chiami Lelio per ragionarli del parentado con Cintia sua figliuola in q^o.

LELIO

di strada intende l'animo di Pantalone di darli moglie la figlia, lui dice non poter dar risoluzione senza Gratiano suo padre in q^o.

GRATIANO

di casa intende del parentado s'accordano col Pant. si contenta chiamano in q^o.

CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA

di casa intende esser fatta sposa con Lelio fanno complimenti, così toccano la mano di Lelio, Cintia, Franceschina in casa. Burattino, Pantalone, Gratiano per strada per andare alle nozze.

Fine dell' Atto primo.

ATTO SECONDO.

FRANZESE
CAPITANO
ZANNI
FILIPPA

di palazzo da un mandato a Filippa quale apparisce da uomo per essere luogotenente di Zanni che meni prigionieri alcuni malfattori e a Zanni è ordinato che vadi fuori in campagna contro li banditi e lasci il suo luogotenente. Zanni con abito da Bargello entra in sospetto della moglie di lasciarla sola per gelosia. Franzese ordina al Capitano che facci quel (corso?) che gli ha imposto. Capitano che farà il tutto. Franzese e Zanni in palazzo Capitano con Filippa resta in q^o.

PANTALONE

di strada dice aver bisogno di denari per spendere per le nozze e che bisogna che facci eseguire alcuni mandati contro li suoi debitori, dà li mandati a Filippa, luogotenente di Zanni facendoli carezze che li facci il servizio di farli l'esecuzione. . . .

ZANNI

di palazzo entra in gelosia di Pantalone e di Filippa sua moglie vedendoli che l fa carezze lo afferma, facendolo si ha come li prova la pistola, dice esser gentil'huomo della Corte, alla fine dopo molti atti la lascia con gelosia mena seco la moglie. Zanni con Filippa in palazzo, Pantalone dice

voler andar a trovar Gratiano parte per strada, Capitano resta dice voler far quello che li ha ordinato il Franzese Governatore, batte in q°.

CINTIA di casa il Capitano fa alcune parole di complimento, che voglia andar seco in palazzo. Cintia ricusa, alla fine il Capitano la vuol menare per forza. Cintia grida chiamando aiuto in q°.

FRANCESCHINA di casa con una scopa batte il Capitano gridandoli con bravure e facendo rumore in q°.

LELIO di casa corre al rumore vede il Capitano vuol forzare Cintia vengono a parole Lelio caccia mano alla spada e ammazza il Capitano in q°.

ZANNI di palazzo fanno prigionie Lelio, fanno portar dentro il morto, Zanni, Filippa, Corte, Lelio in prigionie. Per strada Franceschina, Cintia piangendo delle loro disgrazie entrano in casa.

PANTALONE di strada hanno dato ordine per il banchetto delle
GRATIANO nozze e per le feste che si hanno da fare allegri
BURATTINO battono in q°.

CINTIA di casa piangendo fanno l'atti del sangue, alla fine
FRANCESCHINA dicono come Lelio è fatto prigionie per aver ammazzato il Capitano quale la voleva menar per forza in palazzo, essi si dolgono dicono voler andar a liberar Lelio di prigionie. Cintia, Franceschina in casa essi restano in q°.

FRANZESE di palazzo vien pregato da tutti a liberar Lelio di prigionie scolpando la penitenza del Capitano, Franzese tira da parte Gratiano dicendoli che per liberar Lelio della vita il rimedio è che mandino Cintia in palazzo che lui la vuol godere e che poi li darà Lelio libero. Franzese entra in palazzo Gratiano dice l'odio del giudice alla fine dopo molti atti concludono mandar Cintia questa notte in palazzo aviso che il Franzese la goda per salvar la vita a Lelio, fanno atti dell'onore e battono casa in q°.

CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA di casa dicono che per salvar la vita a Lelio bisogna che lei vadi in palazzo e farsi godere dal giudice, fanno atti, Cintia dice volerlo dire a Lelio, se si contenta che non gli vuol far torto in q^o.

LELIO di prigionie alla ferrata intende da Cintia come che per salvarli la vita è necessario che vadi al palazzo e farsi godere, Lelio la riprende ed in collera rientra dentro, essi concludono che sia bene mandarla in palazzo. Burattino in collera, Gratiano e Franceschina accompagnano Cintia ed entrano in palazzo. Pantalone Burattino partono per strada.

ZANNI
FILIPPA di prigionie grida che vuol sapere tutto quello che li ha fatto con li guardiani mentre che lui giocava in prigionie. Filippa alla fine confessa esserli palesato prudenza(?) e haverla goduta tutti li guardiani. Zanni in collera li tira un archibugiata e l'ammazza e la porta via, dice portarla nel bosco parte per strada.

Fine dell'Atto secondo.

ATTO TERZO.

GIUDICE
CORTE di palazzo allegro per aver goduto Cintia ed aver havuto il suo piacere in q^o.

VILLANO di strada porta in spalla Filippa moglie di Zanni morta, dice averla portata Zanni nel bosco quando l'aveva ammazzata. Franzese li fa portare in palazzo. Villano in palazzo. Franzese dice voler rimediare a questi inconvenienti in q^o.

ZANNI di strada dice aver portato la moglie nel bosco. Franzese lo vedo lo fa pigliar prigionie, li dimanda del luogotenente suo. Zanni impaurito confessa averlo ammazzato. Franzese dice voler ordinare che li facci giustizia grande poi entra in palazzo.

PANTALONE
BURATTINO di casa, che oramai Cintia si potrà stare a tornare con Lelio suo marito secondo l'ha promesso il Giudice dolendosi di esso si consolano in q^o.

GRATIANO
CINTIA
FRANCESCHINA

di palazzo che il giudice li ha promesso di mandarli quanto prima Lelio fuori di prigione essendo il Giudice soddisfatto, Burattino fa atti della mala notte, Pantalone abbraccia la figliuola quasi che piangendo per tenerezza dolendosi dell'onor concesso per aver macchiato l'onor suo però si conforta per la liberazione di Lelio. Pantalone, Gratiano, Burattino dicono volerla andare ad incontrare. Franceschina in casa, Cintia resta dicendo che vuol stare aspettando il suo sposo finchè venghi in q°.

MESSO

di strada con un bacile coperto ed un velo nero presenta a Cintia un presente da parte del Giudice, pone in terra il bacile. Messo parte per strada. Cintia resta sospesa come per saper quello che sia, alla fine scopre il bacile e vede la testa di Lelio. Tramortisce pel dolore e poi subito rientra in sè dolendosi dell'iniquità del Giudice piangendo d'aver perduto il marito morto, fa lamenti in q°.

PANTALONE
GRATIANO
BURATTINO

di strada che Lelio già sarà rilasciato di prigione, vedono Cintia che sta piangendo sopra la testa di Lelio, tutti si lamentano della crudeltà del giudice et voler ricorre al Principe, portano via la testa, tutti entrano in casa.

CORTE

di palazzo con tappeti e sedia accomodano dicendo che il Principe è venuto di fuori sonando le trombe per allegrezza in q°.

PRINCIPE
FRANZESE

di palazzo dice esser tornato indietro per aver avuto nuove che si sono accomodati li nemici dei suoi stati, dimanda della quiete e della giustizia. Franzese dice esservi molti prigionieri per gravissime cause. Principe manda che siano menati fuori li prigionieri in q°.

PANTALONE
GRATIANO
CINTIA

di casa si buttano alli piedi del principe gridando giustizia, li narrano l'iniquità del Giudice e tutto il seguito facendoli vedere la testa di Lelio. Franzese confessa il tutto, principe ordina che il Franzese debba sposare Cintia facendoli donazione di tutto il suo, il che si fa. Tutti ringraziano il Principe della cortesia fattali in q°.

ZANNI
CORTE

di prigionie lasciato dice il tutto, aver ammazzato Filippa sua moglie per onore narrandoli che la mordacca (?) vestita da uomo avendola fatta suo luogotenente. Principe ordina che Zanni sia mandato in galera per dirci così ed al Franzese li sia tagliata la testa. Fanno la mostra di tagliar la testa al Franzese e finisce la tragedia.

L'INGIUSTO RETTORE.

ATTO PRIMO.

Re di Danimarca	Orazio coppiero del	apparenze
Principe figlio	Re	Camera
Coviello servo	D. Inesa figlia al dot-	Città con carceri
Dottore e	tore	Tempio ed oraculo
Tartaglia, consiglieri	Rosetta sua serva	Camera di spettacoli.
Schiavo, servi.	Pollicinella servo	
	Rosalba da se.	

Prima Scena (Camera)

RE	sopra la ribellione de' popoli di Sparta, chiede consiglio, che deve fare.
PRINCIPE	tutti loro parere, infine Re risolve andarvi di persona, lascia il principe Carlo al governo, li raccomanda la giustizia, l'onore delle donne, e che vadino tutte velate, e tutti partono via. Resta
DOTTORE	Principe sopra l'amor di D. Inesa e Coviello di Rosetta, in quello Rosalba priega il Principe, lui sdegnandola via, Coviello lo siegue, lei disperata entra.
TARTAGLIA	
POLLICINELLA	
COVIELLO	

(Tempio ed Oraculo)

DOTTORE	viene dicendo a
POLLICINELLA	suo servo, esser la partenza del re cagione della mestizia del popol tutto, tratta aver casata la figlia col Coppiere del Re, ed esser quello un galante giovene ed haversi sognato un sogno molto spaventevole, e volere andare dal oraculo et potere interpretare il sogno, e viano dall'oraculo.
ORACULO	sua risposta loro sdegnati via.

(Città)

Orazio coppiero,	l'amor di d.Inesa, e chiama.
ROSETTA	dopo scena, chiama.

- D. INESA dice, che la chieda al padre, lui che di già trattò il
 madrimonio, eccolo Coviello accelerarlo veloce,
 donne in casa e lui via a sollecitare il dottore.
- COVIELLO E
PRINCIPE viene dicendo a Coviello la rigidezza di d. Inesa,
 e volere di nuovo scoprirsi, fa battere da.
- D. INESA lo sdegna ed entra, lui goderla per forza, e sdeg-
 niato via, Coviello chiama.
- ROSETTA l'istesso della padrona, ed entra, Coviello disperato
 via.
- ORATIO
DOTTORE coppiero viene sollecitando il
 per le nozze di d. Inesa sua figlia, lui contento
 per li capitoli partono.
- PRINCIPE
COVIELLO viene dando ordine a
 che si chiami lo schiavo, e di sua parte vadi a
 chiamar d. Inesa, e se quella non voleva venire,
 la facci da quello portar per forza, e via, Coviello
 ed il schiavo parte.
- DOTTORE allegri aver fatti li scritti, e per toccar la mano
 battono.
- ORATIO E
POLLICINELLA
ROSETTA inteso con allegrezza, chiama
 tocca la mano ad Oratio, dottore li fa entrare, e
 lui e Pollicinella per comprar cose dolci, viano.
- D. INESA dice al schiavo, che lui chiamerà d. Inesa, e li
 farà l'ambasciata del principe, e quando quella
 ricusasse, che per forza la porti via, batte.
- COVIELLO E
SCHIAVO
- D. INESA inteso, li da un schiaffo, lui chiama il schiavo, e
 dice che per forza la porti via, schiavo vol por-
 tarla, lei grida, in questo da casa bastona lo schi-
 avo, quello tira la sciabile, Oratio li spara con la
 pistola, e l'uccide ed entra in casa, e Coviello con
 il morto finiscono l'atto e via.
- ORATIO

ATTO II

(Camera)

- COVIELLO viene palesando al
PRINCIPE la morte dello schiavo, principe adirato chiama.
ORATIO lo rimprovera, lui parla risentito al principe, prin-
 cipe chiama

TARTAGLIA

principe ordina la carcerazione di quello, e che sotto pena della disgrazia, non li facci parlare a nissuno, ed anche dà ordine che le donne della città vadino svelate sino al petto, e che facci pubblicare l'editto, e via; Tartaglia, che da consigliere era fatto sbirro e banditore, porta il copiere prigionero e via.

(Città)

POLLICINELLA
TARTAGLIA

avere lasciato il dottore a comprar le cose dolci, in questo da dentro sonando viene fuori. Pollicinella si ritira, butta il bando, Pollicinella di dentro fa lazzi, in fine Pollicinella via, e Tartaglia per esser fatto anche carciere parte.

(Carceri)

ORATIO
POLLICINELLA
DOTTORE

fa lamento alle carceri, ed entra. viene raccomandando al il bando che per la città s'era buttato per ordine del Principe, Dottore, che quello era un tiranno, e s'en ride, e vogliono entrare in casa, in questo

ROSETTA E
D. INESA

per andare alle carceri, vedono il padre, e li dicono il tutto della carcerazione di Oratio, e chiamano alle carceri.

ORATIO

fa scena con la moglie, li raccomanda la riputazione, dottore dubita della sua vita, e che quello era un tiranno, e voleva far fingere corrispondenza alla figlia, finchè lui era fuori, e poi prenderanno la fuga. Oratio, che non voleva quello ma più tosto voleva morire. Pollicinella dice che lui voleva aiutarlo con vestirsi da donna, e fingere una sua sorella ed entrare a parlarsi, e così lo vestiva da donna e lo faceva uscire, e lui resterà in sua vece, ma non sa come entrare, Rosetta li dice che vadi lui a vestirsi femina, che per entrare li basterà l'animo a lei di farlo entrare, lo manda a vestirlo da donna, loro si licenziano, Oratio entra, loro per vestir Pollicinella entrano in casa, Rosetta resta, in questo,

COVIELLO

la rimprovera di crudele, lei dice essere onorata, e tanto basti; Coviello la minaccia, e che ancora

- TARTAGLIA se la padrona non vol contentare il principe, che moriva il marito, e via, lei resta e chiama
carciere, quello la vede, l'amoreggia, e li dice
quando sarà sua, lei lo priega di far parlar sua
sorella col carcerato, Tartaglia che non puo che il
principe non vuole, lei, che se non li farà questo
piacere, non sarà mai sua, quello lusingato dice,
purchè si si goderanno insieme la compiacerà, lei
che porterà la sorella, e loro andranno a godere,
Tartaglia allegro entra e lei chiama
- POLLICINELLA da donna, lo concerta finger la voce, e che si copra
il volto, e Pollicinella porta un altro vestito in-
volto per Oratio, volendo fingere che siano bian-
cherie, e Rosetta chiama
- TARTAGLIA fa entrare Pollicinella da donna, e loro restano,
Tartaglia dice a Rosetta che vadino a godersi, lei
dice che al ritorno della sorella andrà a ritrovarlo
alla sua camera, Tartaglia allegro entra, e lei es-
serli riuscita l'inventione, entra in casa.
- PRINCIPE aver fatto bene di far pubblicare editto per la
città,
- COVIELLO ed averne veduto delle belle, e godutone molte, e
voler ancora goder tutta la città, in questo,
- ORATIO da donna col volto velato, dalle carceri, Principe
si ammira per il bando emanato, e quella andar
velata, ordina si scuopra, lei di no, principe vol
scovrirla per forza, lo scovre e vede Oratio e chi-
ama
- TARTAGLIA principe lo rimprovera, lui che era entrata la
sorella per visitarlo ed era anche nelle carceri,
principe s'era bella, lui di sì, principe voler god-
erla, ordina la chiami, lui entra, e poi fuori
portando
- POLLICINELLA da donna, principe si sdegna, ordina si frusti, e
torni prigioniero Oratio, e parte, Tartaglia li porta
dentro.
- DOTTORE da casa per saper l'esito di Pollicinella, in questo
- POLLICINELLA a cavallo al sumaro frustandosi finisce l'atto 2°.

ATTO 3°

- PRINCIPE in ogni conto voler goder d. Inesa, dice a
COVIELLO che chiami, lui bene,
D. INESA Principe di nuovo la priega, lei ricusa, lui per
forza pigliandola per un braccio la porta via.

- POLLICINELLA dice esser stato onorato da tutta la città, e correre a vederlo passare a cavallo, ed averci andato quantità di genti appresso; in questo
- ROSETTA dice, lei non voler frustati; sono a contesa, in questo
- DOTTORE li placa, chiede della figlia, Rosetta dice, che il principe l'ha portata per forza via, dottore s'infuria, e Pollicinella dice esser stato veridico l'oraculo, dottore adirato parte, Pollicinella lo siegue, Rosetta entra.
- PRINCIPE portando per mano
- D. INESA ringraziandola godimenti, lei li chiede la grazia del marito, lui di sì, e chiama
- COVIELLO li parla all'orecchio, e lo manda dentro, Coviello dice che si trattenghi, ed entra, principe, che adesso haverà il marito, e via, lei allegra, rimane, in questo
- S'apre camerone alle carceri.
- ORATIO legato al palo morto strazzato, lei suo lamento, e via.
- (Si chiude la camera)
- DOTTORE E
POLLICINELLA dicono esser venuto il re, e che vogliono andare a chiederli giustizia, partono.
- TARTAGLIA allegro per la venuta del re vittorioso, e via per incontrarlo.
- RE ammirato non avere avuto nissuno all'incontro, in questo
- TARTAGLIA
DOTTORE
POLLICINELLA
ROSETTA
D. INESA chiedono giustizia, in questo
- PRINCIPE di nera cerca onore, sposo e giustizia, Re che si chiami il Principe, in questo
- Re fa sposare d. Inesa, Re dice che l'ha restituito l'onore, e lo sposo, li dice che chiede altro. Lei voler giustizia, Re condanna a morte il figlio, e tutti via, lui suo lamento, ed entra
- COVIELLO
TARTAGLIA dicono della crudeltà del Re, che ha condannato alla morte il figlio, e che stava per eseguirsi la sentenza, in questo
- TROMBA loro atterriti dicono che si eseguiva la giustizia s'apre spettacolo con il talamo, e la testa del principe, e finiscono la tragedia.

Robbe.

Pistola carica, tromba, ricapito per dar la frosta, da donna per Orazio e per Pollicinella, con manti di lusso per d. Inesa e Rosetta.

Talamo con testa, e tutto il necessario per il spettacolo, palo e fune per spettacolo.

Abiti per l'oracolo.

REVIEWS

F F Communications. Edited for the Folklore Fellows by Johannes Bolte, Kaarle Krohn, Axel Olrik, C. W. von Sydow. Nos. 32-41, Helsingfors, Hamina, Sortavala, and Porvoo, 1920-1921.

Of the ten numbers (32-41) of the *F F Communications* received since my last *compte rendu* in the *ROMANIC REVIEW*, vol. xi (1920), pp. 187-194, one (No. 32) contains a continuation of Nos. 30-31, *Der Ackerbau im Volksaberglauben der Finnen und Esten* by A. V. Rantasalo; one (No. 33) gives a list of Finnish *Märchenvarianten* supplementary to the one published as No. 5 in 1911; and two (Nos. 36, 39) are in reality reprints of two chapters in the forthcoming fourth (and final) volume of Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen* to the *Kinder- und Hausmärchen* of the Brothers Grimm.

The six new contributions are: No. 34, *Verzeichniss der böhmischen Märchen von Vaclav Tille, übersetzt aus dem Böhmischen*, I, Nos. 1-8, Porvoo, 1921, pp. 371; No. 35, *Eliei Aspelin-Haapkylä als Urheber der neueren volkskundlichen Sammelarbeit der Finnischen Literaturgesellschaft*, von Kaarle Krohn, Helsingfors, 1920, pp. 10; No. 37, *Les Contes populaires de la Flandre; Aperçu général*, par Maurits de Meyer, Helsingfors, 1921, pp. 100; No. 38, *Die Grundlagen des Reinecke Fuchs. Eine vergleichende Studie* von Adolf Graf, Helsingfors, 1920, pp. 135; No. 40, *K. F. Karjalainen*, von Kaarle Krohn, Porvoo, 1921, pp. 14; and No. 41, *Die Religion der Jugra-Völker*, von K. F. Karjalainen I Übersetzt von Oskar Hackman, Porvoo, 1921, pp. 204.

The above ten numbers complete volumes V-VIII and are of great value and interest for comparative studies in the field of folktales. This is especially the case with Nos. 34, 37, and 38. The first of these is the beginning of an extensive catalogue of Bohemian *märchen*, the original of which was submitted some years ago to the Bohemian Academy of Sciences in Prague and accepted for publication. At the same time the editors of the *F F Communications* expressed their readiness to publish a German translation of the work. The war delayed these publications and as the unfavorable conditions of printing rendered impossible the immediate publication of the original the Finnish Academy of Sciences provided for the printing of the translation. The first instalment contains the various versions of stories belonging to eight great classes of tales: the unknown victor, the princesses in the underworld, the stolen wife (bride), the magic maiden, the princesses in the distance, the wooing with tests, the magic strife, and the child of fate. Some four hundred and twelve versions are analyzed, and in an index are given references to Anti Aarne's *Märchentypen* and the corresponding stories in Chauvin's *Bibliothèque des ouvrages arabes*, Cosquin's *Contes populaires de Lorraine*, Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen*, Polivka's *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, and Leskien and Brugmann's *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* with Wollner's notes. When the work is completed a general index will be given of the contents of the materials, a list of the incidents which occur in the text, and a description of the complete Bohemian collections with some account of the manner and arrangement

of the catalogue. When this great undertaking is finished the student of *märchen* will have at his disposal a great mass of new material conveniently arranged for reference.

Another work of similar nature is No. 37, containing a catalogue of all the Finnish variants of popular tales, arranged according to Anti Aarne's *Märchentypen*. The author gives a general outline of the study of the popular tale in Flanders, a bibliography, information concerning the catalogue, and (pp. 37-94) the list of variants. The work closes with an appreciation of Alfons de Cock, the master of Flemish folklore, whose death occurred while the present work was in press. As with the Catalogue of Bohemian *märchen* just mentioned, so here a great mass of Flemish variants is made accessible for the first time to the student of *märchen*. For the first time also attention is called to the publications of the Flemish missionaries in Africa, a considerable number of stories from which are mentioned in the Catalogue and listed in the bibliography.

Of general interest also is No. 38, Graf's comparative study of the bases (*Grundlagen*) of Reineke Fuchs. In the present investigation the author treats only the original *Reinaert* which corresponds to the first book of *Reineke Fuchs*. The author finds a twofold basis for *Reineke Vos* and the mediaeval animal epic: the fable of antiquity and the European *volksmärchen*, whose roots are to be sought on the one hand in indigenous sources and on the other in the Orient. As a component part of the animal epic comes, in the third place, the animal jests (*Schwänke*), developed in monastic circles, which may in general be considered as the fable of antiquity regarded from the point of view of the cloister. These three sources are examined at great length through the principal and secondary episodes of the epic. The results are summed up on pp. 128-131 and consist in estimating the influences of the three original sources on the various versions and episodes of the epic.

Besides the brief notice of de Cock mentioned above, two numbers (35 and 40) are devoted to more extensive obituary notices by Kaarle Krohn of scholars who have distinguished themselves in the field of Scandinavian folklore. The first is Eliel Aspelin-Haapkylä, considered as the founder of the modern folklore collections of the Finnish Literary Society. He was born in 1847, the son of a pastor in one of the East Bothnian parishes. He attended school at Jacobstad and Wasa. At that time the language used in all the schools of Finland was Swedish, but the sentiment of teachers and scholars was in favor of Finnish nationality. After the completion of his studies he was made docent in aesthetics and the history of art. In 1892 he became professor "ausserordentlich" of aesthetics and modern literature, and in 1901 regular professor. He was the author of a history of the Finnish theatre, and of extensive biographies of Finnish artists and men of letters. He was a member of the Finnish Literary Society in his student days, and later became and continued its president until his death in 1917. He was also one of the founders of the Finnish Academy of Sciences and its first president.

The second obituary (No. 40), also by Kaarle Krohn, is that of Karjalainen, author of the *Religion of the Jugra Peoples* (No. 41), to which we shall presently return. He was born in 1871 at Kajana, a little town on the northeast frontier of Finland. His parents were in narrow circumstances and he was so unfortunate as to lose his mother (from whom he seems to have inherited his talents) when he was between seven and eight years old. He early attracted the attention of his

teachers and was enabled to complete his studies by their aid and his own extraordinary industry and self-sacrifice. Before he had left the university he was sent by the Finnish Literary Society to collect the vocabulary of the Carelian dialect in the government of Archangel. He performed a similar mission during two vacations in the governments of Twer and Olonetz. He also pursued general historical studies with a view to a university chair in history. There was at that time no pecuniary support for historical study abroad, but the Finnish-Ugrian Society provided means for his residence for several years among the Ostiaks in Siberia. He spent nearly five years there and on his return wrote his dissertation on certain phonological topics in Ostiak. He afterwards occupied various academic positions and continued his researches in the different Ostiak dialects and mythology. His great work on the religion of the Jugra peoples has now been made generally accessible by the German translation by Oskar Hackman in *F F Communications*, No. 41. Karjalainen died very suddenly in 1919.

The two scholars commemorated above are inspiring examples of patriotic devotion to the intellectual interests of their country.

The monumental work of Karjalainen just mentioned, the first part of the translation of which fills the 204 pages of No. 41, is of extraordinary interest and novelty. The topics embraced in this first instalment are: Conceptions of the nature of man, birth and death, and the dead. Under the last named subject are included, of course, funeral rites, with illustrations of the curious Ostiak surface burial in wooden chests, a custom found only among the inhabitants of the farthest northwest, where the ground, even in summer, is frozen a few inches below the surface. Many interesting details are given, to be added to the vast body of accounts of primitive customs already amassed by scholars and explorers.

Again, I earnestly call to the serious attention of students in this country these remarkable contributions to knowledge. The numerous lists, catalogues, analyses of folktales and themes here given place at the command of investigators a huge mass of material the very existence of which a few years ago was known only to a handful of Northern scholars. That so precious an enterprise as the *F F Communications* should be carried out in a country like Finland in these troublous times should fill American scholars not only with envy but with a determination to aid the undertaking by their adhesion to the society and by spreading the knowledge of the remarkable results attained in the comparatively few years of its existence.

T. F. CRANE

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

Norske Folkeminne utgjovne av den Norske Historiske Kildeskriftkommission. II. Norske Eventyr. En systematisk fortegnelse efter trykte og utrykte Kilder. Ved Reidar Th. Christiansen. Kristiania, 1921, 8vo, pp. xi, 152.

In various reviews of the *F F Communications* I have called attention to the extraordinary wealth of materials now first made accessible to scholars by the catalogues and lists of collections of folktales preserved in Scandinavian libraries and learned societies. These catalogues and lists are arranged in accordance with Anti Aarne's "märchentypen," and as each related story or incident bears the same number as its congeners wherever occurring reference is greatly facilitated. Some of these catalogues and lists are very extensive and the student

of comparative folktales finds the most difficult part of his work already accomplished for him.

The latest addition to these catalogues and lists is by Reidar Th. Christiansen, whose study of *The Tale of the Two Travellers, or the Blinded Man*, in *F F Communications* No. 24, I have already noticed, as well as his earlier article (No. 18) on the Finnish and Norse variants of the second *Merseburgerspruch*. The work before us far exceeds these in extent and difficulty, and is a monument of patient labor which only the special student can adequately estimate. It consists of nothing less than an exhaustive analysis of all the Norwegian *märchen* preserved in printed books or in manuscript collections in the various libraries of Norway. The number of stories registered is huge and the analysis designates accurately the incidents in the innumerable variants of each tale. The arrangement of the variants is strictly geographical, and every story and incident is preceded by two numerals, a Roman one indicating one of the eighteen counties (*Fylker* or *Amt*) of Norway, and an Arabic one showing the townships within those counties. This elaborate geographical distribution finds its key in O. Rygh's great work *Norske Gaardnavne*, Kristiania, 1897 and following years. The eighteenth volume, which will complete the work, is not yet published. The list of sources fills thirteen pages and includes a large amount of unprinted material found in the *Norsk Folkeminnesamling* in Kristiania. For the first time the student can form a just idea of the amazing extent of the labors of P. C. Asbjørnsen and J. Moe, not to speak of a host of other collectors of folklore.

Thanks to the various catalogues and lists published in the *F F Communications* and to the present work of Christiansen, the great body of Northern tales is now accessible to students and most conveniently arranged for purposes of comparison.

T. F. C.

Antologia Portuguesa organizada por Agostinho de Campos: Trancoso. Histórias de Proveito e Exemplo. Livrarias Aillaud e Bertrand. Paris-Lisbon, 1921. 16mo, pp. lvii, 274.

In the introduction to the second volume of his *Orígenes de la Novela*, Madrid, 1907, Menéndez y Pelayo gives a detailed account of the short story or *novela* in the Iberian peninsula. The earliest tales of this kind go back to the translations of Oriental storybooks or of *exempla* originally intended for the use of preachers. Aside, however, from the very characteristic *El Conde Lucanor*, the Spanish short story was for over a century a translation or imitation of the Italian *novella*. In my *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century* I have shown the extraordinary vogue of collections of short stories, the frame of which is an imitation of the introduction to the *Decameron*. This is peculiarly true of the seventeenth century, although the greatest of all Spanish stories at the beginning of this period, Cervantes's *Novelas Ejemplares*, had no frame in which the stories were fitted. This is also the case with another very interesting collection of moral stories published in Portugal some thirty-eight years earlier by Gonçalo Fernandes Trancoso. The absence of a frame in this latter work is all the more remarkable since the author wrote it to assuage the sorrow caused by the death at Lisbon in the plague of 1569 of his wife, daughter, a son, and nephew.

Trancoso's work was frequently reprinted (some fifteen editions between

1575 and 1764 are mentioned by the bibliographers) and he enjoyed great popularity in his own country, but his stories were not reprinted after 1764, and all editions are now scarce. His memory was kept alive only by bibliographers and historians of Portuguese literature until Theophilo Braga published in 1883 nineteen of Trancoso's thirty-eight tales in his *Contos Tradicionaes do Povo Portuguez*. Oporto, vol. II, pp. 62-128. The stories published by Braga were those of interest to students of popular tales. For a similar reason Sousa Viterbo published in the *Revista Lusitana*, vol. VII (1902), 97-103, an article on Trancoso as a source for the study of Portuguese proverbs. The writer gives the few known facts of Trancoso's life, reprints the prologue to the first edition,¹ gives a list of the editions mentioned by previous bibliographers, and publishes nineteen proverbs from the *Histórias de Proveito e Exemplo*.

Nothing more was printed about Trancoso until last year (1921) when twenty-four of the thirty-eight *histórias* were reprinted in the *Antologia Portuguesa* edited by Agostinho de Campos and attractively printed at Lisbon by Aillaud and Bertrand. Of the fourteen omitted stories five are given by Braga in the work mentioned above, leaving nine still inaccessible to the student. Most of these are of little interest; only two, in fact, are of any importance; the second story of the second part (a version of the theme of "The Thankful Dead"), and the eighth of the third part, a story taken from Cintio's *Gli Eccatommiti*, ii, 1.

Nothing is known of Trancoso's life except what he himself tells us in the *Prologo* mentioned above: that he was living in the city of Lisbon in 1569 when it was depopulated by the plague which robbed him of a daughter twenty-four years of age, a son who was a student, a nephew, choir-boy in the cathedral, and a wife beloved for her virtues; that these losses caused him to fall into so deep a melancholy that he feared it would injure his body and soul; and to distract his mind he determined to write tales of adventure, profitable and exemplary stories, together with some sayings of wise and serious men. He tells us in his stories that he lived in the parish of S. Pedro de Alfama, and Sousa Viterbo, *op. cit.*, p. 100, prints a document of 1575 in which Trancoso was surety for a certain Francisco Lainez, but which contains no details of his life. He was the

¹ Sousa Viterbo does not say where he found the *Prologo* which he reprints. Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxviii, says that the "carta" directed to the Queen Doña Catalina, widow of Don Juan III and "regentess" of the Kingdom, is found only in the first and very rare edition of the *Contos* of 1575 and was unfortunately omitted in the subsequent editions. This is a mistake. Professor J. de Perott in 1913 published in the *Revista Lusitana*, vol. IV, pp. 159-163, an account of a rare edition printed at Lisbon in 1594 by Antonio Alvarez. This edition contains the *Prologo* to the Queen and is reprinted in full by Professor de Perott, showing that the *Prologo* had probably been printed in the previous editions of 1575 (?), 1585, and 1589. It was apparently not printed in the subsequent editions. It is reproduced with some omissions in the modern edition which forms the subject of this review. I may add that the edition of 1594 seems to be unknown to all previous bibliographers. By the courtesy of the owner I had an opportunity to examine this edition, which contains the first two parts only. The third part probably appeared for the first time in the next edition of 1596.

author of one other work, an ecclesiastical calendar to determine the moveable feasts of the church, published in 1570. All other particulars of Trancoso's life are pure conjecture, as to the place and date of his birth (Trancoso, 1515 or 1520) and death (before 1596).

The value of Trancoso's work for the study of the diffusion of popular tales is slight. The author was familiar, of course, with the Italian novelists and borrowed some nine of his stories from Boccaccio, Bandello, Cintio, Sercambi and Straparola. Some eight stories are derived from sources more or less popular which reached Trancoso probably by way of oral tradition. Among these are the story (I, 9) of "The Envious Neighbors," one of whom is to receive double what is granted to the other. Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. xcvi, thinks Trancoso took his story from the fables of Avianus (20), but the story was widely known in many other forms (see Crane's *Jacques de Vitry*, No. 196; Klapper, *Erzählungen*, No. 156; and Braga, *op. cit.*, II, 69-230); "The Secret Revealed" (I, 11), which has Italian variants as old as the *Cento Novelle Antiche* (see Oesterley's *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 124, and Alessandro d'Ancona, *Studi di Critica e Storia Letteraria*, Bologna, 1880, p. 348; "The Emperor and the Abbot" (I, 17) (see Child's *English and Scottish Ballads*, Pt. II, p. 403); here again Italian versions abound (see Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 275, 276, 378); "The Three Counsels" (I, 18) (see *Gesta Romanorum*, cap. 103, and Crane, *op. cit.*, pp. 157, 357); a Spanish version is in *El Conde Lucanor*, ed. Knust, p. 37; "The Thankful Dead" (II, 1) has already been mentioned (the most copious references to this widely spread tale may be found in the third volume of Bolte and Polivka's *Anmerkungen* to Grimm, pp. 490 *et seq.*); "The Virtuous Queen and the Two Envious Sisters" (II, 7), of which innumerable versions are found in Italy and the Iberian peninsula (see Braga, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 192 *et seq.*; Crane, *op. cit.*, p. 17; and Bolte and Polivka, *op. cit.*, No. 96); "The False and the True Prince" (III, 1), which has echoes in the *Cento Novelle Antiche*, IV, and in the *Libro de los Exemplos*, No. 247. Finally, in this connection may be mentioned "The Found Purse" (III, 7), a very popular story of Oriental origin (see Chauvin, *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes*, ix, p. 26, *Orient und Occident*, I, p. 656), of which variants are found in Italy (Sercambi, Nov. IV, Cintio, I, 9) and in Spain (Timoneda, No. VI). Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. xciv, says that Trancoso's version appears to be independent of these and of popular origin.

Some of Trancoso's stories are mere anecdotes, the sources of which are to be found in such works as Melchior de la Cruz's *Floresta Española*, etc. This is the case with I, 8, where a steward tells the archbishop of Toledo that he has too many in his household. A list is made of those necessary and those unnecessary. The archbishop says: "Let those remain whom I need, and also those others who need me." The same idea is found in the preceding story (I, 7), where a king gives a youth a position as accountant in the customs. An inspector of the treasury remarking to the king on the uselessness of the office, the latter replies: "If we do not need the accountant, the youth needs the office." Some of these anecdotes are taken from Spanish history, e.g. II, 9, where the Marques de Priego, seeing one of his castles razed by the order of the Catholic King, says: "Thank God for having given me walls on which the king's anger may be vented!"

One of the most curious of Trancoso's stories is the one (I, 14) entitled by

Braga "A prova das laranjas" and by the *Antologia* "Alma Tabelioa" ("A Notary's Mind"), which is briefly as follows. A lawyer with three sons asks his lord to take one of them into his service. The lord tests the three by asking how many oranges are in a bowl of water. There are four whole ones and seven halves, which latter in the water, appear like whole ones. Two of the brothers answer a dozen and a half; the third calls in two witnesses and in their presence takes the oranges out of the bowl and draws up a legal document relating the facts. The lord takes him into his service. The *Antologia*, p. xlvi, says that an analogous situation is found in *El Conde Lucanor*, No. 19. This is not a very close parallel; in it a king tests the worth of his three sons by dressing them up and having them ride through the streets of the city and report to him what they had observed.

I have said above that Trancoso took some nine of his stories (occurring mostly in the third part) from the Italian novelists. It may be interesting to know which they are. From the *Decameron* he took the stories of Tito and Gisippo (X, 8) and of Griselda (X, 10); from *Bandello* (II, 15) the story of Pietro and the miller's daughter whom the duke of Florence compels him to make his wife; from *Cintio* (I, 5) the story of Pisti the Venitian, who slays his wife's suitor and flees from justice; he finally surrenders himself to save his family from starvation, and is pardoned by the state;² from *Cintio* (I, 9) the story of Filargiro, who loses a purse and offers a reward for its discovery; when it is found the owner pretends that it contained more money and the judge decides that it cannot be the one he lost (this story is also in *Sercambi*, IV, as has been stated above); from *Cintio* (II, 1), the story where Diego kills the lover of Caritea, who promises her hand to the one who will bring her the murderer's head. In a subsequent war with Portugal Diego defends Caritea and captures her enemy the king of Portugal. Diego then surrenders himself to Caritea, who marries him.

In conclusion I may say that it is proposed to publish some thirty volumes of the *Antologia*, of which seven have already appeared. They are all of interest to students of Portuguese and are issued in a very attractive form.

T. F. C.

² These two stories were very popular and furnished Lope de Vega with the plots of his plays, *La Quinta de Florencia* and *El Piadoso Veneciano*, both now accessible to the student in volume xv of the edition of Lope de Vega's works edited by the Spanish Academy, Madrid, 1913, pp. 359, 536.

NOTES AND NEWS

The *Studi Medievali* will be continued, under the editorship of Professors V. Crescini and Ezio Levi.

Professor H. R. Lang has been made a Corresponding Member of the Royal Spanish Academy of Madrid.

The late Mr. Owen Pike devoted many years of his life to preparing a Norman-French Dictionary. He had attained unique knowledge of the subject from his long experience in translating the Year Books. Discouraged by lack of appreciation, he directed before his death that the manuscript be destroyed, tho he did not state in his will that it might not first be printed. It is hoped that funds may be found in this country or in England to print this very valuable and much needed work, and that the executors of Mr. Pike's testament will interpose no objection.

Professor E. C. Hills has resigned his chair at the University of Indiana to accept a professorship at the University of California.

M. Ferdinand Brunot has just publisht at Paris (Masson, 120, Boulevard Saint-Germain) *La Pensée et la Langue, Méthode, Principes et Plan d'une Théorie du Langage appliquée au français*. This monumental work (956 pages) does not belie its title, and is of the utmost interest to students of grammar and language.

The death is reported of Jules Haraszti, professor of French literature, and Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Budapest. He is known for his studies of Chénier and Rostand, for an edition of *Tyr et Sidon* for the Société des Textes Français Modernes and for many other works.

Romance paleography suffered a great loss in the death of Professor John M. Burnam of the University of Cincinnati. He left to the University his immensely rich collection of facsimiles and works on paleography.

M. Joseph Bédier has publisht with H. Piazza, Paris, 1922, *La Chanson de Roland, publiée d'après le Manuscrit d'Oxford*. The edition offers a translation into modern French.

Hispanists have long felt the need of an alphabetical list of the words that are defined or otherwise explained in the invaluable dictionary of Covarruvias, and it has remained for Professor John M. Hill of Indiana University to do the work: *Index Verborum de Covarruvias Orozco: Tesoro de la Lengua Castellana o Española, Madrid, 1674*. By John M. Hill, Associate Professor of Spanish in Indiana University. In the *Indiana University Studies*, Vol. VIII, Study No. 48, March, 1921. Pp. iv, 186.

No one can do satisfactory work in the literature of the Golden Age of Spain without access to the dictionary of Covarruvias, and all who have used it realize only too keenly how difficult it often is to find the word one is seeking. The word may be there, and with explanatory matter that will solve the problem at hand, but it may be out of place, or even buried somewhere in an article on quite a different word. With the aid of Professor Hill's index the word can be found at once if it is in the dictionary.

News has just arrived that the exhaustive dictionary of XVith century French prepared by M. Huguet is to be publisht by Champion.

OBITUARY

FRANCESCO FLAMINI (1868-1922)

American scholars in Romance will greatly deplore the recent death of Francesco Flamini, who held the chair of Italian Literature at Pisa, and through the medium of whose books they have all been so richly taught and inspired.

Professor Flamini was born of a Roman family in Bergamo in 1868. He died at Pisa on the 17th of March. For some time he held the chair of Italian Literature at Padua, then, upon the death of Professor D'Ancona, he was appointed to fill the master's place at Pisa. A list of Flamini's studies would indeed be too long. For a complete bibliography of his works up to 1918, one may refer to the volume published in his honor by his pupils in that year—the *Raccolta di studi di storia e critica letteraria*. The best known of his works are *La Lirica toscana nel Rinascimento anteriore ai tempi del Magnifico* (1891); *Studi di storia letteraria italiana e straniera* (1895); *Il Cinquecento* (1902); and—most familiar in America perhaps—*I significati reconditi della Divina Commedia e il suo fine supremo* (1903-4), which was ably translated into English by the late Professor Freeman M. Josselyn of Boston University. A very valuable volume that should also be noted is the *Antologia della critica e dell'erudizione*, which was revised and reprinted in 1915. Flamini's very last book was *Poeti e critici della Nuova Italia* (1920), and when he died he was at work on a new commentary of the Divine Comedy, in which he had reached only the twenty-sixth canto of the Inferno.

From the mere titles of his principal studies one can see the breadth of Professor Flamini's erudition. From the earliest poets of the 13th century to the newest post-war writers, he had delved widely and with careful criticism into literature not only Italian but European. The number of his works moreover makes us wonder at his tireless energy, especially when we consider that in his last years his strength was continually undermined by the disease that finally ended his prolific career.

Personally Professor Flamini was utterly simple and unassuming, devoted to his wife and three beautiful daughters, eager to travel and to throw himself wholeheartedly into all nobly human interests. Recently he had given courses at the Sorbonne, and in the war he contributed with youthful fervor to the cause of his country. In his death Italy, which is so rich in humanistic scholarship of the highest type, lost one of her most distinguished devotees to literature and erudition.

RUDOLPH ALTROCCHI

THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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THE OLD FRENCH *LAI DE NABARET*

IN a manuscript in Sir Thomas Phillips' library there is an old French *lai* which might be an item clipped from a current issue of *Town Topics*. It seems to have been composed to twit a thirteenth century nobleman, to whom it gives the name Nabaret.¹ This gentleman has, it appears, more than once got into a passion with his wife on account of her dressmakers' bills. He has even so clearly manifested his disapproval of her fine clothes as to beat her. So he knows that it is not for him that she persists in these vanities. Finally in desperation he asks her family to remonstrate with her.

Oiez cum ele respondi :
'Seignurs,' fet ele, 'si vus plect,
Si lui peise que jo m'invest
E ke jo m'atur noblement,
Jo ne sai autre vengeance :
Ço li dites ke jo li mand
K'il face crestre la barbe grant,
Et sez gernuns face trescher.
Issi se deit gelus venger.'
Asez s'en ristrent e gaberent,
En plusurs liuz le recunterent
Pur le deduit de la parole.
Cil ki de lais tindrent l'escole
De Nabaret un lai noterent
E de sun nun le lai nomerent.

Gröber² translates the lines which contain the point of the lady's

¹ Edited by F. Michel, *Charlemagne*, London, 1836, s. v. *gernuns*, p. 90.

² G. Gröber, *Grundriss der rom. Philol.*, II, 602.

remark, *dass er den Bart weder wachsen lassen noch pflegen solle*. How he arrived at this translation it is difficult to understand, and how he interpreted it, no less so. Already in the thirteenth century the passage must have been obscure, for the Norse translator makes of it, *at hann late lengi vaxa skegg ocampa. sian skere hann af hvarttveggja*. "that he let his beard and moustache grow long, then cut them off,"³ a rendering no less obscure.

That Gaston Paris is correct in translating *trescher* by modern French *tresser*, to braid,⁴ is hardly to be doubted, for there are various examples of *gernuns treciez* to be found in Old French romances. In *Dolopathos*,⁵ for example, there is a personage who has

. . . . la barbe blanche et bele
 . I . espan desouz la mamele
 Et fu treciez a une tresce.

In *Gui de Bourgogne*,⁶

Sa barbe li baloie jusc'au neu du braier,
 Par desour les oreilles ot les guernons treciez
 Derier el haterel gentement atachies.

and again, in the same poem,⁷

Sa barbe li baloie jusc'au neu du brayer.
 Par desus les oreilles ot les grenons treciez,
 Et le baston d'or fin el haterel lacie.

In the poem *De Saint Pierre et du Jogleor*:⁸

Moult estoit bien appareilliez,
 Barbe ot noire, grenons trechiez.

³ R. Keyser & C. R. Unger, *Strengleikar*, p. 82. The Norse translator seems to have mistaken *trescher* for *trenchier*. This explanation is also suggested by Ahlström, *Studier i den Fornfranska Lais-litteraturen*, Upsala, 1892, p. 152. The Norse translation was made at the command of King Hákon (1217-63). Paul, *Grundriss der ger. Philol.* 2, I, p. 870. The Norse manuscript was written about 1250. H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, pp. 199, 205, 218.

⁴ *Histoire littéraire* XXIII, p. 68.

⁵ *Li romans de Dolopathos*, ed. Brunet et Montaiglon, Paris 1856, p. 165.

⁶ *Gui de Bourgogne*, ed. Guessard et Michelant, Paris, 1859, p. 35, ll. 1119-22.

⁷ *loc. cit.*, p. 56, 1839-42.

⁸ Barbazan, *Fabliaux et contes des poètes français des XI, XII, XIII, XIV et XV^{me} siècles*, Paris, 1808, III, 286, ll. 131-3.

Perhaps the most valuable passage for our purpose is found in *Bueve de Hantone*, Version III, published by A. Stimming, in 1914, at Dresden (Gesellschaft für Romanische Literatur). The editor dates the poem as of the first half of the twelfth century.

Oudars se dresce o le flouri grenon.
 La barbe ot blanche com noiz ou auqueton.
 De soie en furent tercié li doi forchon,
 Qui au baudré batoient le baron,
 Et la grant tresse li bat jusqu' au talon,
 Tresié a soie d'or en sont li bouton.
 A grant merveille resamble bien peudon.
 (14594-14600).

On some of the sculptured figures on mediaeval churches and town halls there are beards and moustaches that look as if they were braided.⁹ In the choir of Wimborne minster there is a sculptured head of Moses, showing clearly the interlaced strands of the beard.

Gröber and Gaston Paris do not seem to have inquired what was the point of the lady's answer.¹⁰ And yet if the lay is to mean anything to us we must know. It was something very witty, for her one sentence was final. Enough to send the family away convulsed, enough to be thought worth repeating, and sure to raise a gale of laughter wherever heard. Moreover the existence of the lay itself bears witness that one poet at least thought the lady's retort worthy of immortalizing, for, like the lay of *Chievrefoil*, the lay of *Nabaret* was made

Pur les paroles remembrer.

If we examine the passages in 12th and 13th century texts in which tressed beards and moustaches figure, we find that they are invariably worn by patriarchs or by persons of great weight and dignity. The beard in *Dolopathos*, for example, is white; the tressed moustache in *Gui de Bourgogne* is worn by the aged Charlemagne and his paladin Naymes de Baviere. It is Saint Peter, not the jongleur, who has the braided moustache. It is impossible to

⁹ A. Schultz, *Höfisches Leben zur Zeit der Minnesinger*, Leipzig, 1889, I, 288.

¹⁰ M. A. Geffroy, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits*, 1855, p. 13, suggests "Qu'il se fasse plus coquet et plus élégant que moi . . . qu'il me rende jalouse, s'il peut, comme il l'est lui-même."

identify all the sculptured figures, but they are hardly likely to be those of gallants in their prime. The many examples from Middle High German literature cited by A. Schultz in his *Höfisches Leben* are all associated with old men.¹¹

In sermons of Geiler von Kaisersberg on Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* various fanciful ways of wearing the hair and beard are enumerated and condemned for their folly. The braided beard is given special attention:

Werden gefunden die ziehen gantz lange und zopffechte (sic) Bärt, welches sie allein darum thun, *damit man sie desto ehe für alte männer und stattliche personen ansehen solle*. Dise sticht in sonderheit die ehrgeitzigkeit und ruhmsucht, aber solche sein fürwar grosse thoren, und hangt an einem jeden härlein des Barts ein schelen.¹²

On the other hand we find various indications that in the thirteenth century and even in the twelfth, men who aimed at being fashionable shaved their beards. In Chrétien's *Perceval* the young men

. . . . reent et rooignent
Lor barbes cascune semaine.¹³

In the Provençal novel *Flamenca*, one of the signs that the husband, almost mad with jealousy, has lost all care for his appearance is that he lets his beard grow until it looks like an ill-made haystack. When he imagines that his wife is displeased at his appearance, he retorts that he would rather be a laughing stock as a *jalou* than as a complaisant cuckold.¹⁴ It is noticeable that when the lover appears he has a chin that is plainly visible,¹⁵ and he needs to make no sacrifice of beard or moustache when he becomes a *clerc*.

French fashion in the romances seems to reflect fashion in real life, for about the middle of the twelfth century Louis VII yielded

¹¹ Schultz, *op. cit.*, p. 289. See also discussion in W. Hertz's modernization of *Parsival*, p. 531, and in *Ordene de Chevalerie*, ed. R. T. House, p. 15.

¹² J. Scheible, *Sebastian Brandts Narrenschiff mit Geiler von Kaisersberg's Predigten darüber*, Stuttgart, 1845, p. 247.

¹³ ed. Potvin, l. 8932.

¹⁴ P. Meyer, *Le roman de Flamenca*, Paris, 1865 (second edition, 1901), l. 1157 ff.

¹⁵ *Loc. cit.*, cf. also *Aucassin et Nicolette*, ed. F. W. Bourdillon, London, 1919, section 2, ll. 11-13, and other descriptions of late twelfth century and thirteenth century lovers.

to the papal prejudice against beards and was publicly shaved by Peter Lombard, bishop of Paris. This example on the part of the king sufficed no doubt to set the current of fashion definitely against beards and it was not until the reign of Philip VI of Valois that they again came into favor (1328).¹⁶

A passage in Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff* is a pleasant illustration of the attitude of the bearded toward the beardless. Brant is satirizing in his fourth chapter (*Von nuwen funden*) the style, apparently new in Germany in his time, of shaven face and abbreviated garments. To him it seemed immodest and "unsuitable." He proclaims eloquently for long beards. In Pierre Rivière's French translation (1497) we read:

Jadis estoit grande louange
Qui maintenant seroit étrange
Aux anciens pères porter
Grande barbe. Et devez noter
Que à l'exemple de Socrates
Tous les philozophes après
Et avant qu'il fust mort portoient
La barbe grant lesquelz estoient
Rempliz de grande sapience.¹⁷

Alexander Barclay in his so-called translation of the *Ship of Fools* (1514?)¹⁸ is of the same opinion, and praises the example of Socrates and other philosophers, who,

Bycause they wolde nought change that cam of nature,
Let grow theyre here without cuttinge or scissure.
At that tyme was it reputed to lawde and great honour
To haue longe here: the Beerde downe to the brest,
For so they used that were of moste valour,
Stryvynge together who myht be godlyest
Saddest, moste clenely, discretest, and moste honest.¹⁹

In the general decay of the present age, however, Rivière continues, wisdom has taken flight from earth. Men are ashamed of

¹⁶ Cf. Larousse, *La Grande Encyclopédie*, s. v. *barbe*.

¹⁷ Sebastian Brant, *Narrenschiff*, ed. F. Zarncke, p. 224. The French translation, by Pierre Rivière, is from the Latin translation of Jacob Locher.

¹⁸ ed. T. H. Jamieson, Edinburgh, 1874.

¹⁹ *loc. cit.*, I, p. 35.

their beards because they fear to seem no longer young. They fly in the face of Nature and think to improve on God's handiwork by wearing their faces smooth and their hair like Ethiopians, frizzled and short:

Tout le monde se contrefait
Et veullent ce que Dieu a fait
Par presumption contrefaire,
En cuidant mieulx que Dieu les faire
Qui est ung peché par trop grant.
Honteux sont et honte les prant
De porter grant barbe au visaige,
De peur de monstrier leur vieulx aage.
Mais leurs corps et viz si bien gardent,
Si bien les acoutrent et fardent,
Que jamais ne deviennent vieulx,
Se semble, et aussi leurs cheveux
Les ungz comme Sicambiens,²⁰
Et comme les Ethiopiens,
Les portent tous craispes et tors,
Faisant à nature grans tors.²¹

The "inconnu" ²² who translated the *Narrenschiff* into French prose (1498), reminds his readers that Brant's satire is for the Germans, among whom the shaven face and short doublet was the fashion. Among the French, he adds, would-be gallants are now seeking something new in beards. "God knows," he ejaculates, "if they have a share in this satire." ²³

Nabaret seems to be a man who wishes to retain the appearance of youth; his wife says he should put on the philosophical beard, if he insists on lecturing her. Like most young women she scorns the old styles as much as old men scorn the new. But she uses a rapier for her attack, whereas Brant and his translators laid on with a bludgeon.

The domestic situation depicted in the *lai* of *Nabaret* is one in which twelfth and thirteenth century French poets delighted, and to

²⁰ A Germanic tribe inhabiting Belgium.

²¹ Zarncke, *op. cit.*, pp. 224 f.

²² Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, ed. F. Bobertag, *Deutsche Nationalliteratur*, p. xxiv.

²³ Zarncke, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

which they have given expression in numerous *chansons dramatiques* of the *mal mariée*. In these lyrics the sympathy of the poet is entirely on the side of the unhappy lady. In no ambiguous terms she declares her impatience of her husband, "vilains floris," and her intention to take a lover. Sometimes the husband holds his peace, sometimes he gives her paternal counsels, sometimes he threatens to cut down her allowance, sometimes he beats her. But the lyric always ends with the lady's triumph. She is even more saucy in the last line than in the first, and invariably sends her husband off humiliated by her witty retort.²⁴

The situation of the *chanson dramatique* with its airy indifference to a wife's duties appears in various narrative poems. We find it, for instance, in the story of Kaherdin and Gargeolain in the Tristan romance,²⁵ and in the Provençal novel *Flamenca* mentioned above.

Didactic poems, however, took the side of the husband. In the *Livre des Manières*²⁶ the poet strongly reproves the light-minded spendthrift who decks herself for her lover and has only hard words for her husband. He has the argument of the admirers of Tarruffe:

Quiconque à son mari veut plaire seulement,
Ma bru, n'a pas besoin de tant d'ajustement.

Jean de Meun, as we might expect, condemns her severely.²⁷ When we have read his lengthy tirade against the poor lady's frills and furbelows and his still longer proof that virtue is woman's fairest ornament, we begin to appreciate the success of the retort of the lady of *Nabaret*: "If you disapprove so much of being in the fashion, go and look like a doddering old patriarch yourself. Don't expect *me* to."

GERTRUDE SCHOEPPERLE
(MRS. ROGER SHERMAN LOOMIS)

VASSAR COLLEGE

²⁴ Cf. A. Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, Paris, 1904, pp. 92-5.

²⁵ G. Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, Frankfurt, 1913, pp. 124-8.

²⁶ C. V. Langlois, *La vie en France au moyen âge*, Paris, 1908, p. 23 ff.

²⁷ *Le Roman de la Rose*, tr. F. S. Ellis, Temple Classics, vol. II, p. 51, ll. 9107 ff.

LI DIS RAOUL HOSDAING

IN 1844 the English scholar, Thomas Wright, edited¹ from a Berne manuscript² an anonymous poem entitled *Le Borjois Borjon* as suggested by its last line, *Itel borjon ont li borjois*. In 1911 another version of this poem came to light in a manuscript in the collection of Lord Middleton at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, England, as catalogued in the publications of the Historical Manuscripts Commission.³ Through the kindness of Lord and Lady Middleton and Mr. W. H. Stevenson, the eminent paleographer and editor of the publication referred to, I have been able to examine this manuscript and to procure a rotograph copy of the new version of the poem which I publish herewith.

The poem in the Wollaton version is one of several contained in a loose quire of velum folios found in the front of a thick velum manuscript executed by 13th century hands,⁴ and containing Old French romances and fabliaux in the Picard dialect. It is possible that the loose quire formed part of the main manuscript which is incomplete at the end and at one point at least in the middle. The hand is also a 13th century one. Nothing can be ascertained as to the history of the volume except a notation in a 15th century hand (folio 347 v), "John Bertrem de Thorp Kilton," (County York). Our poem begins on folio e, recto, column a and occupies about three

¹ *Anecdota Literaria*, 1844, p. 57.

² MS. Berne, No. 354, folio 114, r° f.

³ *Historical Manuscripts Commission. Report of the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*, Hereford, 1911, p. 233. Cp. *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 1912, pp. 200 f; *Romania*, 1913, p. 145. The Wollaton version of *Ille et Galeron* of Gautier d'Arras has been discussed by E. S. Sheldon, *Modern Philology*, Nov. 1919, and F. A. G. Cowper, *Mod. Phil.*, March, 1921. The Wollaton text of the *Aspremont* was edited by L. Brandin, 1919-1922, 2 vols. (*Classiques Français du Moyen Age*, Paris.) The version of *Ille et Galeron* also served H. W. Heimann in his study of the language of Gautier d'Arras: *La Langue de Gautier d'Arras*, Lund, 1920. Cp. *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, 1918, where M. Friedwagner has published the Middleton variants of the *Vengeance Raguidel*.

⁴ Cp. *Modern Philology*, March, 1921, p. 145. Professor Cowper remarked that the Wollaton text of *Ille et Galeron* was executed by two scribes.

columns (the manuscript text being in double column of 44-45 verses each), ending on folio *e, verso*, column *b*. Opposite the first line of the text, also in a 13th century hand, is the marginal notation, *li Dis Raoul Hosdaing*. The attribution of the poem to Raoul de Houdenc is strengthened in lines 8-9 of this version which I shall refer to as A as opposed to the anonymous Berne text as edited by Wright which will be called B:

Por tant l'apel fabel sans fable
Que Raols de Hosdaing⁵ commence.

A comparison of the spirit and language of the poem with those of Raoul's other known works bears this out as we shall see.

Raoul de Houdenc is known in Old French literature as the author of two Arthurian romances: *Meraugis de Portlesquez* and *La Vengeance Raguidel* in addition to some minor poems: *Romanz des Eles de la Proëce* and *Songe d'Enfer*.⁶ The present poem is therefore an addition to the works of this able writer who seems to have enjoyed a reputation in his day (circa 1200) almost equal to that of Chrétien de Troyes⁷ of whom he appears to have been a younger contemporary.⁸ Several towns bearing the name Houdan have claimed Raoul as a son, but the pretensions of Houdan (Seine et Oise) have a little more weight than the others.⁹ At any rate Raoul's language seems to be that of the Ile de France with but few dialectal traits and such was, according to all appearances, the original language of the poem here published. It confirms the evidence found in his other works that Raoul belonged to the

⁵ Cp. Friedwagner (Mathias), *Raoul von Houdenc, Sämtl Werke*, Halle, 1897-1909, I, lvii, note 1. The following variations in the spelling of Raoul's name occur in the mss: Hodenc, Houdenc, Houdanc, Housdaing, Hosdaing, Hodeng, Hodenge, Hodent, Hosdent, Hodan, Houdon.

⁶ Cp. Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, I, *Meraugis*, 1897; II, *Vengeance Raguidel*, 1909. *Meraugis* was first edited by H. Michelant, Paris, 1869; *V. R.* by C. Hippeau, Paris, 1862. The *Romanz des Eles* and *Songe d'Enfer* were edited by Tarbé, Reims, 1851. These two poems with a third ascribed to Raoul: *Songe de Paradis*, appeared in Scheler, *Trouvères Belges, nouv. série*, Louvain, 1879. The authenticity of the latter is no longer accepted. Cp. *Zeitschrift für Rom. Phil.*, XXV, 753; *Romania*, XXVII, 318 f.

⁷ To judge by a frequently quoted passage in the *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist* of Huon de Méry (Tarbé, Reims, 1851), pp. 104-105.

⁸ Cp. Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, I, lxxiii for approximate dates of Raoul's career.

⁹ Cp. Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, II, lxxiii.

jongleur or traveling minstrel class. The *dit* is a direct arraignment of the noble and bourgeois classes on the score of avarice by a "*pauvre chevalier*" or "*leceor a poure robe*."¹⁰

Besides Raoul's fame as an author of Arthurian romances he is best known to literary history as having been one of the early precursors of Guillaume de Lorris in the use of allegory and personification in Old French literature. His minor poems are, in fact, the earliest in Old French to be taken up entirely with allegory and personification.¹¹ The *dit* here published is also of this class.

The poem as edited by Wright contains no mention of the author. A comparison of versions A and B will show that the first ten verses of A are not found in B, whereas the first 28 verses of B are wanting in A. To make up for this difference A contains 22 verses not found in B. There are also other differences of varying importance which will be noted below. A numbers 126 verses and B has 122.

It seems reasonable to conclude that in A we have an earlier version of the poem. Version B represents the text with the passage suppressed (A, lines 1-10) in which Raoul has signed the poem. Some scribe or jongleur, in appropriating the *dit*, appears to have replaced it by a long banal passage (1-28) in general keeping with the spirit of the rest of the poem. This process of the elimination of the personal element of poems by jongleurs and scribes was common enough in the Middle Ages and thus it is that many versions of lyric poems have lost the envoi. Take for example the well-known poem of the Chatelain de Coucy: "*A vous amant plus qu'a nule autre gent*."¹² Of 13 manuscript versions, only three preserve the envoi which is often the weakest part of a *chanson* and mainly interests the author. It therefore seems probable that the versions in which the envoi is preserved represent more primitive forms of the poem. For the same reason we may consider that Version A of our poem which keeps the attribution to Raoul, represents a form closer to the original.

¹⁰ Cp. below, verses 120 ff.

¹¹ Cp. C. Voretzsch, *Einführung in das Studium der Altfranzösischen Literatur*, Halle, 1913, pp. 477 f.

¹² This *chanson* has been frequently published. Cp. J. Bedier and P. Aubry: *Les Chansons de Croisade*, Paris, 1909, pp. 97 f.

Version A also seems to keep more rigorously to the two case distinction.

A consideration of the rhyme and what can be learned from the fixed number of syllables in both A and B (it being here a question of 8 syllable rhymed couplets) seems to agree with the general result obtained from a like study of Raoul's Arthurian romances, that Raoul composed his work in a language corresponding to that of the Ile de France or to its immediate neighborhood.¹³ Version A, however, exhibits some Picard¹⁴ features in the body of the text, a scribal characteristic of the other works found in the Wollaton Ms. Version B has little trace of dialect.

In the beginning of the dit, Raoul after naming himself, complains of the decline of honor and the rise of shamelessness. On account of the prevalence of *avarisse* the jongleur no longer receives just reward from his patrons who are lacking in *cortesie*. The triumph of the vices of the age over the vanishing virtues is then depicted by means of personifications and abstractions:¹⁵ *onors*, *malvaisties*, *largece*, *honte*, *traison*, *agaïs*, *carites*, *pities*, etc. The keynote of the poem is furnished by the unequal struggle of *avarisse* and *largece*. *Onors* which was formerly the steed of *largece* can no longer run. *Avarisse* is mounted upon a charger now called *orgiels* (v. 48), now *traison* (v. 56). The armor and equipment of both riders and their mounts are described at length in allegorical terms. Very vividly is brought out the contrast between the good old times when jongleurs were fittingly honored, and the epoch blamed in the poem when *avarisse* had seized nobles,

¹³ Cp. Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, I, lvii; II, lxxiii. *Gentius-vius* (rhyme words, A, 79-80), Picard forms, may be due to scribe.

¹⁴ Cp. *deciet* (11); *ceval* (55); *escar* (59); *rices* (72); *cier* (96); *cosse* (101); *cies* (101); *leceor* (120); *gentius* (79); *vius* (80); the numerous cases of *s = ts*: *mos* (13); *solas* (14) etc.; *cis* = *cist* (87); *fabliaus* (5). Forms worthy of note are the futures *enconterra* (16); and *garra* (63), forms, however, not confined to Picard. Version B presents very few Northern forms: *Biax* (19); *chastiar* (78).

¹⁵ The germs of Raoul's ideas, are of course, found in the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius, and the personification of vices and virtues found favor with the medieval Latin moralists, for example: Alain de Lille, *Anticlaudianus*, Bernard de Morlas, *De Contemptu Mundi*, Hugues de Fouilloi, *De Claustro Animae*, etc. For the numerous representations in art of these ideas cp. Emile Male, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIe siècle en France*. Paris, 1912, Chapter III.

clergy and bourgeois alike. Raoul finds fault especially with the latter and above all with the grasping inn-keepers who strip the poor jongleur of everything down to his "burel de Louviers" (v. 119).

In the 13th century when the number of professional jongleurs had very greatly increased, the prevalence of avarisse, the lamentable treatment accorded jongleurs by patrons, and the resulting poverty form the themes of many poems of the times and are frequently referred to.¹⁶ Raoul, for example, in the *Songe d'Enfer*¹⁷ relates that in hell there is a custom of inviting every newcomer to one's table. He then says:

Iceste coustume est faussee
En France: chascuns clot sa porte;
Nuz n'entre leenz s'il n'apporte;
Ce veons nos tout en apert.

There are also frequent references to the greed of inn-keepers in the poetry of the time.¹⁸ Raoul has occasion to find fault with them in the *Songe d'Enfer*:¹⁹

E li tavernier de Paris,
Cil ne les servent mie envis,
Ainz vous di, foi que doi Saint Piere,
Que il aiment de grant maniere
Mestrait et Mesconte et Hasart
Qu'a lor gaaing ont souvent part.

After mentioning a list of notorious inn-keepers, he continues:

206 Chascuns i prent, chascuns le plume,
C'est lor beance et lor coustume.

The manner and tone of our poem are thoroughly in keeping with

¹⁶ Cp. the long list of references given by Ed. Faral: *Les Jongleurs en France au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1910, Chapter VII, p. 150, note 1. This list might be extended at will, for example: *Le dit de la dent*, 1. f. (*Rec. Gen. des Fabliaux* Mont. et Rey., I, 147); *Galeran de Bretagne*, 3397 f. Cp. Mont. et Rey., *ed. cit.*, II, 51, a fabliau where a bourgeois boasts of his largesse.

¹⁷ Scheler, *ed. cit.*, 380 f.

¹⁸ In addition to the reference to Latin poetry cited by Wright, *loc. cit.*, cp. *Richars li Beaus* (ed. Foerster, Wien, 1874), 4321 f; *Le Prestre Teint* (*Rec. Gen. des Fabliaux*, VI, 8, 1-28).

¹⁹ Scheler, *ed. cit.*, 183 f.

those of Raoul's minor poems where he has made a similar use of allegory and depicts vices and virtues in conflict, the moral decadence of his epoch, and the unequal struggle between liberality or *largece* and *avarisse*. This is the theme of the first part of the *Romans des Eles* in which it is stressed that *prouesse* is vain and brings no honor with it unless it is provided with two wings: *largece* and *cortesie*. Among the feathers of the wings of *largece* are *donner promptement*, *donner largement* and *regaler souvent*. In the *Songe de Paradis*²⁰ (formerly ascribed to Raoul, at least written under his influence) we see the vices mounted and riding in a group:

Envie i estoit et Haine
Et Avarice la roïne

Avarice and *largece* have a prominent part in the allegorical theme of Raoul's *Songe d'Enfer*²¹ and verses 116f of that poem give the kernel of the theme of our poem:

Et de ce que il me requist
Respondi voir quar je li dis,
Que Doners ert las et mendis,
Povres et nus et en destrece;
Qui soloit avoir l'ainsneece
Or est mainsnez, or est du mains;
Doners n'ose moustrer ses mains,
Doners languist, ce est la somme.
James Doners chies nul haut homme
Ne fera deus biaux cops ensamble
A hautes cors de Doner samble
Que il n'ait mie le cuer sain,
Qu'en son sain tient ades sa main,
Lais, chetis, haïs, et blasmez.
Tolirs est biaux et renommez,
N'est pas chetis ne recreüs
Ainz est et granz et parcreüs;
De cuer, de cors, de bras, de mains
Est granz assez, Doners est nains.

²⁰ Scheler, *ed. cit.*, 520 f.

²¹ Scheler, *ed. cit.*, cp. the long passage beginning with line 27 and ending with 51-52:

Larguece, ainz est en si mal point
Que chies les riches n'en a point.

The text of the *Dit Raoul de Hosdaing* follows as it appears in the Middleton manuscript, with variants from the Berne Manuscript appended.

- Li dis Raoul (E) ²² ncontre le dolç tans qui vient.
de Hosdaing Me plaist por ce qu'il m'en souvient,
 Que je die un fablel novel.²³
 J'ai tort quant je fablel l'apel,
5 Car ce n'est mie fabliaus. Non,
 Il n'a de fablel fors le non,
 Car li dit en sont veritable;
 Por tant l'apel fablel sans fable
 Que *Raols de Hosdaing* commence.
10 Et si nos dist en sa sentence
 Qu'onors deciet et honte avive.
 Ja nus qui de demander ²⁴ vive,
 Por beax mos ne por bel parler,
 Por solas ne por viëler,
15 Por deduit ne por rien qu'il die,
 N'enconterra mais cortesie,
 Por ce qu'avis est as pluseurs
 Qu'onors est honte et honte oneurs.
 Por ce qu'ensi li est avis,
20 Acontre honor drecie son vis
 Malvaisties qui honor confont.
 Malvaisties croist et bontes font;
 Largece muert et honte vit;
 Traïsons danse et agais ²⁵ rit;
25 Carites crie, pities pleure;
 Joie est desos et diels deseure;
 Miels devient fiel et fiel espise.²⁶
 Par quoi est ce que avarisse

²² A space is left here for an illuminated e. There are no illuminated capitals in the loose folios. The main MS. is in places, richly illuminated.

²³ Lines 3 f. Raoul here gives us his definition of a fabliau. Cp. *La Vielle Truande* (Mont. et Rey., V, 129) "*Des fables fait on les fabliaus.*"

²⁴ Cp. Scheler, *ed. cit.*, *Roman des Eles.* 73:

Car je vos di
Cant li conteres a fini
Tant qu'il est poins de demander. . . .

²⁵ *Agais* = fraud, craft.

²⁶ *Espise* = sweetmeats.

- A par tot largece abattue?
 30 Largece qui s'est conbatue
 Contre avarisse ne se puet
 Plus conbattre; per force estuet
 Que fuie. Mais sacies de voir
 S'ele peüst armes avoir,
 35 Molt se conbatist volentiers.
 Mais honors qui ert ses destriers,
 Ne puet corre, que que nus die.
 Ses escus ert de cortisie
 Et ses elmes fais de proëce,
 40 Sa baniere de gentillece.
 Orgiels qui contre raison vait,
 Sele a d'engien et frain d'agait,
 Poitral d'anui, escu ²⁷ de honte.
 Avarisse qui dessus monte,
 45 Porte .i. escu de felonie ²⁸
 A un goupil de tricerie,
 Taint de honte, bordé de plais;
 Ses obers ²⁹ est de fause pais.
 Tot est torné en cest afaire
 50 Que li plusor n'ont mais que faire
 D'onor, ne iamais n'iert amée.
 Por c'est largece desarmée,
 Et avarisse fierement
 Est armée et cort plus devient
 55 Sor .i. cheval. Comment a non?
 Ses cevals a non traïson, ³⁰
 Forgié de gile et de losenges.
 Et de s'espée sont les renges
 D'escar ³¹ a uevre de faintise,
 60 Et l'espée est de covoitise
 Amorée ³² de fausetés.
 Qui de tel espée est navrés

²⁷ MS. B. has *estier* for *escu* which makes a little better sense.

²⁸ Cp. Scheler, *ed. cit.*, *Rom. des Eles*, 464 f. and Huon de Méry *Tournoiement de l'Antecrist*, ed. Tarbé, 25, for lengthy allegorical descriptions of shields.

²⁹ *Obers* = haubert.

³⁰ The verse is obviously out of place in Version B.

³¹ *Escar*, *eschar* = derision, shame.

³² *Amorée* = sharpened.

- Ja n'en garra,³³ c'en est la fins.³⁴
 Covoitisse c'est li venins
 65 Dont li plusor sont encroté.³⁵
 Sa lance est de desloiauté
 Et sa baniere a non envie.
 Orguel, forfait, malvaise vie
 I sont escrit et tot mal³⁶ vises.
 70 Avarisse devant les lises,
 La honie, la desloiaus,
 Fait des plus rices ses casteax
 Ses banieres et ses amis.
 Ele a le vair, elle a le gris,³⁷
 75 Ele a quanque ses cuers demande,
 Por ce que quanque ele commande
 Est fait. Di ge que contêeur,
 Cil qui soloient par honeur
 Vivre des avoirs as gentius,
 80 Ont tot perdu. Largece est vius.³⁸
 Por quoi? I'en dirai la maniere:
 Largece giue³⁹ a bote ariere
 Qui sielt iuer a bote avant.
 Ensi vait li detries devant.
 85 Fortune a la roe tornée;
 Por cest itels l'a bestornée⁴⁰
 Dont cis mondes est bestornés
 Quant cis maus mondes est tornés
 Devers deable a sa partie.
 90 Je di que [cil]⁴¹ ne menti mie
 Qui dist que li siecles faudroit.
 Por quoi nos veons orendroit

³³ Future tense.

³⁴ A favorite "cheville" of Raoul's used in strong affirmation. Cp. *ce est la somme*, p. 8 above, in passage quoted from the *Songe d'Enfer*, 116 f.

³⁵ *Encroté* = *engroît*.

³⁶ For *tos mals*, an evident lack of case agreement.

³⁷ MS. B. in line 4 has; *Avoir assez et vair et gris*, and omits the line at this point.

³⁸ *Vius* = *vils*; a Picard form.

³⁹ *Giue*, *iuer* = *joue*, *jouer*.

⁴⁰ *Bestornée* = turned in inverse sense.

⁴¹ The line as it stands lacks a syllable. MS. B. has *cil* and the correct number of syllables.

- Que li siecles est defallis.⁴²
 Por ce estuet que des fallis ⁴³
 95 Soit li siecles plains de tos sens.
 Onques ne vi por nul cier tens ⁴⁴
 Tel herbaut ⁴⁵ ne si grant destrece
 Con il est herbaus de povrece.
 Por cest herbaus que poi enlieve
 100 En proëce, proëce grieve
 As riches, c'est cosse provée;
 Proëce n'iert iamais trovée
 Cies envesque ne cies provoivre.
 Boriois par sont tostans en foire ⁴⁶
 105 D'engien, d'agait et de corion,⁴⁷
 Car en boriois a un borion
 Qui Prendre a non; si lor aprent ⁴⁸
 Que boriois est fols qui ne prent
 Quanque il puet de chevalier prendre.
 110 Quant boriois em puet .I. seul prendre,
 Soit son segnor o soit son oste,
 Tel hostel li fait qu'il li oste
 Del suen quanqu'il em puet oster.
 Tant con il se puet acoster
 115 Au prendre, tant le velt atraire.
 En la fin quant cil n'a que traire,
 Et li boriois en a tot trait,
 Lors ne sont pas plus tost retrait
 Li burel de Louviers ⁴⁹ de luj.
 120 Onques nul boriois ne conuj
 Qui povre chevalier amast
 Ne qui volentiers s'acostast

⁴² *Defallis* = weak.

⁴³ *Fallis* = cowards.

⁴⁴ *Cier tens* = famine, time of want.

⁴⁵ *Herbaut* = famine, want.

⁴⁶ *En foire*, a free translation would be: dealing in.

⁴⁷ *Corion* = strap, scourge.

⁴⁸ Notice the word play in the rhyme from this point on and above, 85-88. Raoul was fond of this trick. Cp. *Veng. Rag.* 4565 f; *Meraugis*, 93 f. and à propos of this, Friedwagner, *ed. cit.*, II, lxxxvi. Enjambement is also frequent in Raoul's poems and occurs in this poem. Cp. v. 31, 32, etc.

⁴⁹ Louviers (Eure), about 80 kilomètres from Houdan (Seine et Oise). It remains today an important centre for the manufacture of cloth, flannel and woolen fabrics.

De leceor⁵⁰ a povre robe.
 Boriois n'ainme ome s'il nel robe;
 Ja tant n'iert sages ne cortois.
 126 Un tel borion⁵¹ ont li boriois.

Variants with ms. B as represented in the edition of Wright referred to: I-28 lacking in A

Por beles rises conter,
 Soloient menestrel monter
 En grant enor et en grant pris,
 Avoir assez et voir et gris,
 5 Chevaux et deniers a despandre,
 Tant con il en voloient prandre;
 Mais par foi, valor et proëce,
 Cortoisie, sen et largece,
 Et enors estoient alors
 10 En graignor pris qu'il ne sont ors:
 Car larjece est tote perie
 En clers et en chavalerie,
 En dames et en damoiseles
 Qui n'oent mais choses noveles.
 15 Car l'an ne trove qui rien done,
 Ne qui a celui gueredone
 Qui de bien dire s'entremet,
 Et son tans et s'entente i met
 A faire biax moz et en dire
 20 Chose qui face la gent rire.
 Por ce que li don sont chau,
 Sont⁵² Menestrel dechau
 Par maintes foiz de joie faire
 Et de biax moz dire ne traire,
 25 Que il aussent fait savoir
 O il cuidassent prou avoir
 Or escotez, fait-il silance,
 Je vos dirai en audience

The numbering of verses will now follow Ms. A from this point, the variants of Ms. B. being given for the corresponding lines.

⁵⁰ *Leceor*, frequently a synonym of *jongleur*, cp. Faral, *ed. cit.*, p. 147.

⁵¹ *Borion* = sprout, probably a word play on *borjois*. Cp. v. 106 above.

⁵² The verse is imperfect metrically as it stands in Wright, *ed. cit.*

Mere variations in spelling are not recorded: 12) Que nus hom qui en cest mont vive. 14) Por solas ne por deporter 16) Ne trovera . . . 17) Car il est avis a plusors 19) . . . lor est avis 22) . . . et enor font. 23) Proëce muert . . . 28) Pourquoi est-ce? Car avarice 33) Foir s'en . . . 34) Se ses armes poïst avoir 35) Trop . . . 36) . . . qui est ses destriers 38) Ses escus est . . . 43) Portrail d'envie, estier de honte 45-48) Not in B. 49) Tot est chau en tel afaire 50) Li riche n'en ont mais que faire 51) . . . n'ont amee. 52-54) not in B. 56) Li chevax . . . 57) ferre de guile . . . 59) D'orgoil dore, de faussetez 60-61) Not in B 62) Qui de tele espee . . . 63) N'en puet garir . . . 64) Car convoitise est li velins 68) orgoil, sorfait . . . 69) Il sont escrit es toz max vices 70) Covoitise . . . 73-85) Not in B. 86) Por c'est itex, la bestornee 87) Toz cist . . . 88) Tot cist max siegles . . . 89) Devers deiable par envie 91) . . . cist siecles . . . 94) Por ce lo dit que . . . 95) Est plains li siegles en toz sans 96) Onques mais ne fu si . . . 97) Ne tel herboz ne tel destrece 98) . . . herboz de larjece 99) . . . que nus n'enlieve 102) N'est jamais proëce trovee 104) Boriois resont tot dis en foire 107) Qui a non Prandre, et li aprant 108) Qu'il n'est pas borgois qui ne prent 109) De franc home ce q'an puet prendre 110) . . . en puet un sorprendre 111) A son ostel et a son oste 112) . . . qu'an li oste 113) Del suen ce que il puet oster 115) De prendre 116) . . . il n'a . . . 118) Lors li sont moult sovant retrait 119) Sen emprunz, s'il li fait enui (not found in A) 120) Car onques boriois ne quenui 122) . . . s'acointast 126) Itel borion.

The order of verses is very different in places in the two versions. I append here a concordance by way of comparison.

A	B
wanting	1-28
1-10	wanting
11-43	29-61
44	63
45-48	wanting
49-51	79-81

52-54	wanting
55	62
56-59	64-67
60-61	wanting
62-72	68-78
73-85	wanting
86-118	82-114
119 (wanting in B)	115 (wanting in A)
120-126	116-122

CHARLES H. LIVINGSTON

BOWDOIN COLLEGE

AMERICAN TRAVELLERS IN SPAIN

(continued from page 262)

V.—FOOD AND BEVERAGES

The early American traveller in Spain and even later travellers in isolated parts of that country were impressed both with the necessity of carrying with them not only the bed—of which we have already spoken—but also food and utensils for preparing it.¹ Adams tells us that he and his party in 1779 had to carry all of their food.² Jay in 1780 was obliged at Cádiz to make all provisions for meals to be taken on his journey to Madrid.³ Monroe when he travelled from Bayonne to Madrid in 1804 had to carry his own provisions.⁴ Ticknor in 1818 found the inns of Aragón especially lacking in provisions.⁵ Later travellers had similar experiences. Irving writes in 1829: "The *posadas* and *ventas* have seldom anything to give you."⁶ At a *venta* where Mrs. Allen stopped between Málaga and Granada in 1864 there was nothing to eat or drink not even water. She writes: "We asked for some water—there was none, but they would send a boy a quarter of a mile to get some."⁷

The traveller found that provisions, even where they were provided, were in many cases extremely meagre. At one house where Noah stopped he found nothing but wood and water.⁸ At the prin-

¹ Cf. C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 277; Washington Irving, *Alhambra*, New York, 1895, pp. 16, 29; Ford, pp. 82, 113, 122, 167, 168, 171; Larra, p. 165.

² Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 244; cf. *Rev. dip. corres.*, vol. iii, p. 458.—The food was carried in saddle bags on each mule: "There are wallets or saddle-bags on each made with canvas, in which we carry bread and cheese, meat, knives and forks, spoons, apples, and nuts." Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 243.

³ *Correspondence*, vol. i, pp. 333, 334. Cf. Swinburne, pp. 79, 116, 117, 231; Townsend, vol. i, pp. 1, 2.

⁴ *Diary*; cf. Noah, pp. 135, 168.

⁵ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 185.

⁶ *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 223; cf. *Works*, vol. vii, p. 535.

⁷ Allen, p. 486.

⁸ Noah, p. 187. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 163; Ticknor, *Travels*, p. 24; *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, pp. 17, 18, 228; C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 188; *Scenes in Spain*, p. 29; Byrne, vol. ii, p. 16.

cipal inn at Lake Albufera near Valencia Mackie was told the only provisions in the larder were potatoes and onions. "This was so characteristic of the country," says Mackie, "that I could scarcely refrain from laughing in his face."⁹ He adds that the nearest place where one could get bread was six miles away.

Much fun is made by travellers in general of the inn keeper and his ill provisioned inn. Variations of the conversation which Sancho Panza had with the *huésped* at the hostelry in Zaragoza are repeated frequently in books of travel.¹⁰ Mackie relates an amusing conversation with an innkeeper who began by saying "Hay de todo," but who had only the means of cooking and serving what the traveller had brought. On entering an inn Mackie has the following conversation with the innkeeper:

⁹ P. 314.—In the Spanish writings of the period we are studying, this lack of provisions at Spanish inns is frequently mentioned. Cf. Larra, p. 450; Flores, vol. i, p. 317; *Panorama Matritense*, p. 107; *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. ii, pp. 231-238.

¹⁰ "Llegóse la hora de cenar; recogieron á su estancia; preguntó Sancho al huésped que qué tenía para darles de cenar. Á lo que el huésped respondió que su boca sería medida; y así, que pidiese lo que quisiese: que de las pajaricas del aire, de las aves de la tierra y de los pescados del mar estaba proveída aquella venta.

—No es menester tanto—respondió Sancho; que con un par de pollos que nos asen tendremos lo suficiente, porque mi señor es delicado y come poco, y yo no soy tragantón en demasía.

Respondióle el huésped que no tenía pollos, porque los milanos los tenían asolados.

—Pues mande el señor huésped—dijo Sancho—asar una polla que sea tierna.

—¿Polla? ¡Mi padre!—respondió el huésped.—En verdad en verdad que envié ayer á la ciudad á vender más de cincuenta; pero, fuera de pollas, pida vuesa merced lo que quisiese.

—Desa manera—dijo Sancho—, no faltará ternera, ó cabrito.

—En casa, por ahora—respondió el huésped—, no lo hay, porque se ha acabado; pero la semana que viene lo habrá de sobra.

—¡Medrados estamos con eso!—respondió Sancho—. Yo pondré que vienen á resumirse todas estas faltas en las sobras que debe de haber de tocino y huevos.

—¡Por Dios—respondió el huésped —que es gentil relente el que mi huésped tiene! Pues héle dicho que ni tengo pollas ni gallinas, y ¿quiere que tenga huevos? Discurra, si quisiere, por otras delicadezas, y déjese de pedir gullurias.

—Resolvámonos, cuerpo de mí—dijo Sancho—, y dígame finalmente lo que tiene, y déjese de discurrimientos, señor huésped.

Dijo el ventero:

—Lo que real y verdaderamente tengo son dos uñas de vaca que parecen

“What now for supper, landlord?”
 “*Hay de todo.* Everything is at the service of *Vuestra Merced.*”
 “Give me then a roast chicken, and a—”
 “There is no roast chicken, Señor,” interrupted the inn-keeper, hanging his head by way of obeisance.
 “Give me a rabbit—with his feet on—”
 “No rabbit, Señor.” And the inn-keeper let his chops fall as well as his head.
 “But you have a roast pig—a cut of cold beef—mutton cutlets—a partridge—pigeon pie?”
 “The mesonero shook his head at each question. I then came to a full stop, thinking it better to give the poor man time to tell what he had got.”¹¹

Thus it happened that frequently those who had not had the foresight to provide provisions were obliged to make excursions into the neighborhood. Irving writes in 1829: “You must either bring your provisions with you or forage for them through the village.”¹² Mrs. Le Vert found it necessary to do this at Temblique even in 1855.¹³ Revere in speaking of the accomplishments of an attendant he took with him on his journey north, says: “He was, too, versed in cooking and in foraging,—no mean accomplishment in Spain.”¹⁴

The American traveller’s impressions of the meals in many of the inns were unfavorable. The rancid oil and garlic gave no little annoyance. Arthur Lee writes in 1777: “The Castilians are much *manos de ternera, ó dos manos de ternera que parecen uñas de vaca; están cocidas, con sus garbanzos, cebollas y tocino, y la hora de ahora están diciendo: ‘¡Cómeme! ¡Cómeme!’*” *Don Quijote*, part ii, chap. lix.

¹¹ Pp. 347, 348. Cf. *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, pp. 17, 18; Ford, p. 174.

Spanish writers of the period we are studying speak of the “*Hay de todo*” of the inn-keeper. Flores gives the following conversation between a traveller and an innkeeper:

“¿Pero aquí, qué es lo que hay?

—Aquí hay de todo, respondió con orgullo el posadero.”

The traveller asks for ham, eggs, and chicken in succession but is told each time there is none. Finally the inn-keeper informs him “*Hay aceite y sal y ajos, y si á sus mercedes les gusta el peregil y la cebolla, también se buscará.*” Flores, vol. i, p. 315.

¹² Irving, *Letters*, vol. ii, p. 223. Cf. Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, pp. 72, 74; Noah, p. 168; C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 277; *Scenes in Spain*, pp. 219, 220; Bryant, p. 117; Bourgoing, vol. i, p. 3; Ford, p. 174.

¹³ Vol. ii, p. 14.

¹⁴ P. 70.

of the complexion of the Indians, but more ill-favored, and their dirtiness and garlic render them more offensive than paint and bear's grease do the savage."¹⁵ Hardly had Mrs. Cushing crossed the frontier in 1829 when she had her first experience with these "cosas españolas." She was at Irún: "I learned," she says, "before finishing the repast that I should be obliged to acquire a taste for them [oil and garlic] as no one dish came on the table, which was not cooked in oil, or seasoned with garlic."¹⁶ By the time she had reached Fresnillo she was beginning to acquire a taste for them. She gives an interesting description of the preparation of the food in the various earthen pots and jars around the fire. These dishes, although containing plenty of oil and garlic, she finds "far from unpalatable." The oil soup, however, is for her "disagreeable beyond measure."¹⁷ Both oil and garlic, she tells us, are found in almost every Spanish dish.¹⁸ Nevertheless, in spite of her great distaste at first for these two ingredients, she becomes later very fond of Spanish cooking.¹⁹ Another American found the oil very offensive. It was the principal ingredient of a dinner which was served him at Zaragoza.²⁰ The strong oil which he found was the chief substitute for butter, held an important place, he observed, in their greasy *ollas* and *pucheros*.²¹ Wallis writes that on his first visit to Spain in 1847 he was of the impression that the tales of the use of garlic were greatly exaggerated and that he went so far as to say that it was never served him in "*fonda, venta, or ventorillo*."²² On his next visit, however, he was not so fortunate, for it was served him even in the capital.²³ The oil and garlic nearly forced Warren into starvation during his first days in Spain. Nevertheless, he evidently became accustomed to them for at Tolosa he ate heartily of a meal highly flavored with both.²⁴ The majority of American travellers complain more or less at first of the oil and

¹⁵ *Journal*.

¹⁶ Vol. ii, p. 5; cf. *ibid.*, p. 20.

¹⁷ Vol. ii, p. 37; cf. Mackie, pp. 155, 156.

¹⁸ Vol. ii, p. 53; cf. Ford, pp. 57, 178, 179.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, *passim*.

²⁰ *Scenes in Spain*, p. 270.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

²² Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 94.

²³ *Spain*, pp. 9, 10.

²⁴ Pp. 21, 113.

garlic. They rarely speak, however, in such strong terms as Mac-coun who finds the Spanish *cuisine* "execrable" because of these ingredients. "Every article placed before you," he says, "is stewed, and strongly impregnated with rancid oil, garlic, saffron, and red-pepper; and the newly-arrived stranger, whose stomach is unaccustomed to such high-flavored condiments, is obliged to fall back upon boiled eggs, bread and cheese."²⁵ March, like most American travellers in Spain, learned, on the contrary, to like Spanish cooking. He writes of the national dish: "I grew so enamored of it that, before long, the pungent garlic with which it was seasoned, and the rancid oil with which it was accompanied, became a second nature to me."²⁶ The following narration by Noah of his own experience at the *posada* of Torreblanca in 1814 is rather an exception:

"We arrived, fatigued and hungry in the evening at Torreblanca; the Posada was none of the best, but our good hostess, willing to prepare something for supper, seized a tough dung-hill cock, decapitated him without ceremony, dissected the bird, and placed the parts in an earthen dish, and with onions and tomatoes; we viewed the ceremony, of cooking the same, over a naffy of charcoal, and the addition of oil, of no great freshness, which was poured in the dish from the lamp feeder, sufficiently cured our appetite, without partaking of the dish."²⁷

On the whole the Americans seem to have adapted themselves more easily to Spanish dishes than did either the English or the French.²⁸ The latter were especially critical of the food. According to Pettigrew a breakfast served at Aranda one morning during his travels in Spain in 1859 was the cause of complaint among the French passengers of the diligence. He, however, found it very palatable although it was well flavored with garlic.²⁹

²⁵ *Knick. Mag.*, vol. xli, pp. 98, 99.

²⁶ March, p. 136.

²⁷ P. 176; cf. *ibid.*, p. 182. This recalls Ford's statement that "the oil is used indifferently for lamps or stews."

²⁸ Both the English and French travellers make much fun of the oil and vinegar. Ford compares the wine, which he says sometimes serves for vinegar, to purple blacking. He says the table is plentiful and the cooking to those who like oil and garlic excellent. Ford, p. 57. Garlic, he found particularly offensive to the English. "The very name, like that of monk is enough to give offence to most English." *Ibid.*, p. 178.

²⁹ Pettigrew, p. 353.—In the opinion of Dumas Spanish oil and vinegar spoil

Because the national dish, the *olla* or the so-called *puchero* in the north of Spain, contained large quantities of the two ingredients just mentioned, it was not agreeable at first to the taste of many American travellers. For Maccoun it had no attractions.⁸⁰ The majority of American travellers, however, became quite as attached to it as did the Spaniard and not infrequently do we find them choosing it, as did that good governor Sancho Panza, in preference to some other dish.⁸¹ Wallis thinks it not unworthy the great Sancho's praise.⁸² Schroeder found the *olla* delicious.⁸³ Warren in 1849 not only acquired a taste for it but considered it a "sublime compound, a dish worthy of being devoured by monarchs."⁸⁴ Mackie, after acquiring a taste for the *olla podrida*, decided it was one of the two really good things in the country.⁸⁵ March, whose taste for the national dish increased daily, says: "If any day I was obliged to forego it, in travelling or otherwise, I thought with the Roman Emperor, 'I had missed a day.'"⁸⁶ He even goes so far as to say that it detained him three months in Spain.

for a Frenchman any dish of which they are a part. He particularly regretted on his visit to Spain in 1846 that these two ingredients made it necessary for him to renounce the pleasure of his daily salad. "Mais la verdure en Espagne n'avait d'autres résultats que de nous imposer de profonds regrets, puisque l'huile et le vinaigre espagnols sont si loin de nos mœurs culinaires que je défie à un Français si grand amateur qu'il soit de laitue, de raiponce ou d'escarole, d'avaler une seule bouchée de l'une ou de l'autre de ces herbes, si appétissantes cependant dès lors qu'on les a mises en contact avec l'un ou l'autre des deux liquides que nous venons d'énoncer." Vol. i, p. 172; cf. vol. i, p. 235.—Ford, to the contrary, finds the salad delicious. Pp. 133, 134; cf. Captain S. S. Widdrington, *Spain and the Spaniards in 1843*, London, 1844, vol. i, p. 236.

⁸⁰ He writes: "The famous *puchero* and *olla* may be very savory dishes for the Spaniard but for one accustomed to a civilized *cuisine*, a mixture of beef, bacon, sausages, beans, cabbage, carrots, onions, garlic, pepper, etc., etc., has no attractions." *Knickerbocker Mag.*, vol. xli, p. 99.

⁸¹ Sancho gives the following order to his doctor: "Lo que el maestra sala puede hacer es traerme estos que llaman ollas podridas, pue mientras más podridas son, mejor huelen, y en ellas puede embaular y encerrar todo lo que él quisiere como sea de comer, que yo se lo agradeceré, y se lo pagaré algún día." *Don Quijote*, part ii, chap. xlix.

⁸² *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 6.

⁸³ Vol. ii, p. 101; cf. Vassar, p. 340.

⁸⁴ P. 114.

⁸⁵ P. 156.

⁸⁶ P. 136. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 149; Taylor, pp. 429, 430.

This national dish is frequently described by American travellers. Noah writes: "The *olio* [*olla*] is a never failing Spanish dish; this consists of beef and pork, steamed down with cabbage, *garravansas* [*garbanzos*] or large peas, together with other vegetables."³⁷ Others tell us it contains various other kinds of meat. In fact according to the descriptions given there seems to have been as much diversity in the contents as in the days of Sancho Panza.³⁸

According to Mackenzie the more elaborate kind of *olla* is called *olla podrida*. *Garbanzos* are mentioned as common to all with the exception of a *puchero* containing "avichuelas" [*habichuelas*] which Wallis tells us was served him at Jerez.³⁹ As in the days of Don Quijote it was "una olla de algo más vaca que carnero." Beef, pork, and bacon seem to have been the common meats of those described, but chicken, kid and other meats are sometimes mentioned. Noah who travelled in Andalucía says mutton is more plentiful than beef and is the favorite dish.⁴⁰

Up to the sixties the *olla* is mentioned by nearly every American traveller in Spain; many of whom give long descriptions of its composition and preparation and testify to its popularity.⁴¹ In

³⁷ P. 90; cf. Taylor, p. 405.

³⁸ Speaking of *ollas* Sancho says: "Por la diversidad de cosas que en las ollas podridas hay, no podré dejar de topar con alguna que me sea de gusto y de provecho." *Don Quijote*, part ii, chap. xlvii.—Spanish writers frequently mention pigs' feet when they describe the composition of the *olla*. In Breton de los Herreros we read:

"El Artesano aquí, sin esa embrolla
Que exalta y fanatiza al de Lutezia,
Su pitanza asegura, y no en su cholla
Hierva tanta utopía horrible ó necia.
Al oler los garbanzos de su olla.
Con vaca y pié de puerco y fina especia,
De buen grado algun prócer exclamara;
'Aquí estoy yo, maestro; una cuchara!'"

Manuel Breton de los Herreros, *La Desvergüenza*, Madrid, 1856, p. 200.

³⁹ *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 141.

⁴⁰ P. 90.—As in the days of the Knight of La Mancha, beef seems to have been cheaper than mutton when Townsend was in Spain some thirty years previous. Townsend was accustomed to enquire the prices of provisions before leaving a city. His figures like those of Laborde a few years later and of Inglis in 1830 show a lower price of beef as compared with that of mutton.

⁴¹ English and French travellers also testify to its universal use. Ford describes it at length and informs us that it is well made only in "well appointed Andalusian houses." Pp. 123, 124, 125; cf. Borrow, vol. i, p. 133.—Gautier

spite of its popularity with the natives and the American travellers, the demands for roast beef by the English and the demands for nothing less than the *cuisine française* by the French caused it gradually to disappear from the table of the inns along the beaten track of travel. With the *mantilla* and the Spanish dances it gradually lost its honored place so that by the sixties we find it seldom mentioned by travellers. With the general impulse felt in the country from the thirties on, foreign dishes began to take the place of native dishes at inns most frequented by foreigners. According to Mackie the *fondas* were already getting ashamed of the national dish in 1851. He says: "Half a century hence the traveller will be obliged to descend to the *ventorrillo* to get a taste of it."⁴² Eight years later Pettigrew was impressed with the *posada* at Lucena, which, as it was not often frequented by strangers, was of native simplicity and served a real *olla*.

"The *posada* being seldom visited by foreigners, was in the primitive style, none the worse, however, for that, as we at least, were not imposed upon in the cuisine; no boiled beef broiled up into steaks but a real *olla* and *huevos con jamón*."⁴³

At a small village in Cataluña where Mills was detained over night in 1865 because of a flooded stream, chops were served the guests but the family had *olla podrida*.⁴⁴

Mrs. Cushing was favorably impressed with the *guisado* although some of the other travellers recalling *Gil Blas* looked on it somewhat suspiciously.⁴⁵ *Gaspacho*, a very primitive dish composed of water, vinegar, salt and oil into which bread was broken was sometimes served the traveller in Andalucía.⁴⁶ The salad, so disliked by the French, seems to have met the approval of the found it in 1840 the "mets éminemment espagnol, ou plutôt l'unique mets espagnol car on en mange tous les jours d'Irun à Cadiz, et réciproquement." Pp. 23, 24.—It is also frequently mentioned by Spanish writers. Cf. Larra, p. 39; *La Desvergüenza*, p. 296.

⁴² Mackie, p. 155.

⁴³ P. 287.

⁴⁴ P. 133.

⁴⁵ Vol. ii, p. 277. Cf. Caleb Cushing, vol. i, p. 107; *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, p. 18; *Spain revisited*, vol. ii, p. 64; Mackie, p. 154; Ford, pp. 123, 131, 175.

⁴⁶ Cf. Noah, p. 166; *A year in Spain*, vol. ii, pp. 176, 227; *Scenes in Spain*, p. 121; Ford, p. 134; Gautier, p. 268.

American traveller as well as that of the English.⁴⁷ The *pollo con aroz* which one American finds excellent is seldom even mentioned.⁴⁸ *Bacalao* was still served as it was at the first inn where Don Quijote stopped when he started out in search of adventures.⁴⁹ Humphreys writes in 1791:

"At the public houses on the roads at a considerable distance from the sea, codfish from America is plentier and cheaper than other goods that are to be found. This seems the more strange as the droves of cattle, herds of swine and flocks of sheep are apparently numerous and excellent."⁵⁰

If the American traveller did not look with a favorable eye on this dish, which was placed before him not infrequently at poor *ventas*, he found, on the other hand, that the trout were excellent.⁵¹ In fact he was quite as pleased with a dish of trout as was Gil Blas' flattering guest at the supper in the *mesón* at Peñafior.

The famous ham of the Alpujarras receives words of praise from American travellers in general. Woodruff describing an excellent dinner he had at Almería December 9, 1828, says:

"Among the variety of viands, wines, and fruit, at this excellent dinner, was a Granada mountain ham, so much esteemed by the gourmands of France and England. It is cured in snow and sugar without smoke, and with little or no salt. It is known abroad by the name of sweet ham."⁵²

The *bellotas* on which the swine feed and which is supposed to

⁴⁷ Noah, Mackenzie, Wallis, Mills, Widdrington, Ford and others speak of it in favorable terms.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 418; Mackie, p. 343; Ford, p. 131.

⁴⁹ Francis Landon Humphreys, *Life and times of David Humphreys*, New York and London, 1917, vol. ii, p. 86; Baker, pp. 25, 184; *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 321; March, p. 212; *Nat. Mag.*, vol. xi, p. 360.

⁵⁰ Vol. ii, p. 86.

⁵¹ Cf. Revere, pp. 61, 63; March, pp. 232, 268, 305, 330; Bryant, pp. 71, 87, 158; Pettigrew, p. 368; Ford, pp. 21, 28.—The well known English traveller, Widdrington, already referred to, recommends the delicious trout of Castilla la Vieja and León. *Spain and the Spaniards in 1843*, vol. ii, p. 74.—Even Gautier found the trout a really excellent dish in Spain. Gautier, p. 141.

⁵² Pp. 255, 256. Cf. Revere, p. 55; March, p. 422; Mackie, p. 153; Pettigrew, pp. 281, 287.—Even Mrs. Byrne says that it is not difficult to approve *jamón con dulces* although he finds it somewhat incongruous to an English palate. Vol. ii, pp. 162, 163; cf. Ford, pp. 129, 130.

give to the meat its excellent flavor are mentioned by a few Americans.⁵³ One recalls the gift of these which Sancho Panza sent to his wife Teresa, another remembers that Sancho was a great lover of the *bellota*, but, strange to say, only one mentions the fact that it was a handful of these nuts that called forth that famous speech which Don Quijote made to the goatherds after enjoying their hospitality.⁵⁴

The *turrón* of Alicante, that of Jijona, the preserves, the fruits and nuts, all receive their share of praise from the American traveller.⁵⁵

Until well toward the middle of the century, the American in Spain was impressed with the absence of both tea and coffee. Adams, to be sure, mentions drinking tea in a private family, but this seems to have been a mark of attention to him, and even on this occasion the ladies drank chocolate.⁵⁶ Neither of these beverages was known generally in the Peninsula when Jay took some tea among other provisions for the journey from Cádiz to Madrid in 1780. Mrs. Cushing in one of her letters from Spain in 1830 says that if tea and coffee are not absolutely unknown in the whole of Spain they are at least so scarce that few are able to buy them.⁵⁷ An American who about this time went ashore at Barcelona from the frigate *Constellation* was impressed with the Spanish custom in the cafés of mixing spirits with the coffee. He describes as follows a scene in a café on the Rambla :

⁵³ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 25; March, p. 208; Bryant, p. 115; Pettigrew, pp. 34, 281, 304. Cf. Swinburne, p. 85; Ford, p. 127.

⁵⁴ Cf. *Don Quijote*, part i, chap. xi.

⁵⁵ Adams, *Works*, vol. iii, p. 233; Noah, pp. 90, 176; Woodruff, pp. 236, 255; Caleb Cushing, vol. ii, pp. 274, 275, 278; Joseph Hart, *The Romance of Yachting*, New York, 1848, p. 277; Mackie, pp. 153, 154; [Mrs. James L. Claghorn], *Letters written to my son*, Philadelphia, 1873, p. 199; and many others speak favorably of these. The melon is frequently mentioned as of a very fine variety. It pleased Jay so much that he sent seeds of it to America.

⁵⁶ *Works*, vol. iii, p. 240.

⁵⁷ Vol. ii, p. 52.—Ford, a little later, was impressed with the same fact. Tea and coffee, he says, have supplanted chocolate in England and France but not in Spain. Ford, p. 143.—Gautier nearly ten years later was likewise impressed with its rare use. "Au reste il est d'un usage assez rare." P. 99.

"We were ushered into a large room furnished with a great number of small marble tables, around which were seated some dozen of groups who were engaged in loud conversation, and were allaying by means of a cup of strong coffee, the fumes of the wine with which they had washed down their dinner.

"Our tragedian sung out for *cuatro tazas de café*, which were forthwith brought in, and a small decanter of liquor was placed upon the table at the same time. Many of the Spaniards mix spirits with their coffee."⁵⁸

It was not, however, until some years after the death of Ferdinand VII when the doors of Spain were thrown open to the world and foreign influence both social and political entered, that the custom of drinking tea and coffee was really introduced into the country. With increased liberty came an increase in travel and with this increase in travel a catering to the wishes of the traveller, which meant tea for the English; coffee for the French, and both for the American.⁵⁹ The use of tea as well as coffee increased although slowly from the later forties on. At Jerez in 1847 Wallis was given tea by his landlady.⁶⁰ March tells us that in 1853 it was a frequent sight to see the Gaditanos taking their coffee or chocolate on the flat roof of the house.⁶¹ According to Bryant, however, neither coffee nor tea was in common use when he was in Spain four years later. He writes from Málaga, December, 1857: "Those who take coffee drink it at the cafés, as an occasional refreshment, just as they take an ice cream; and the use of tea, though on the increase, is by no means common."⁶²

Although the custom of drinking tea and coffee had been gradually introduced into different parts of the country both were usually badly made. Wallis says that at Córdoba in 1847 the people were

⁵⁸ P. 216.—Gautier about ten years later was impressed with the fact that coffee was not taken in cups but in glasses. "Le café ne se prend pas dans des tasses mais bien dans des verres." P. 99.

⁵⁹ A Spanish writer of that time writes that the history of tea in Spain is the history of the social and political regeneration of the country. "La historia del té en España es la historia de nuestra regeneración social y política. . . . Su importación de la China y su uso y su abuso, son la historia del uso y el abuso de nuestras libertades." Flores, vol. iii, p. 262.

⁶⁰ *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 150.

⁶¹ P. 140.

⁶² P. 177. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 127; Mills, p. 153.

amused when he ordered tea. He adds "they seemed to think it a much better joke than I did when I tried it."⁶³ Warren observes in 1849 that coffee is seldom taken by Spaniards and finds that even in Madrid one cannot get it well made. So difficult was it to get either tea or coffee well prepared that foreigners were obliged to substitute chocolate.⁶⁴ Mrs. Claghorn found both tea and coffee bad at Cádiz in 1866.^{65,66}

If good coffee and tea were lacking there was always excellent chocolate. The American traveller not only learned to take this instead of his favorite beverage, but also became very fond of it. Hardly one of them fails to expatiate on its perfections. Adams writes in his diary at El Ferrol, December 10, 1779: "Breakfasted on Spanish chocolate, which answers the fame it has acquired in the world."⁶⁷ On December 22, he describes the serving of chocolate to some ladies at a private house to which he was invited:

"A servant brought in a salver, with a number of tumblers of clean, clear glass, full of cold water, and a plate of cakes which were light pieces of sugar. Each lady took a tumbler of water and a piece of sugar, dipped her sugar in her tumbler of water, eat the one, and drank the other. The servant then brought in another

⁶³ *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 254.

⁶⁴ Pp. 84, 85.

⁶⁵ P. 195.

⁶⁶ Mrs. Byrne in Spain about the same time criticizes the coffee as she does things Spanish in general. "A little Spartan sauce," she says, "is by no means a despicable addition to a Spanish meal, and the coffee was scarcely such as to have been relished without it." Vol. i, pp. 67, 68; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 107, 183.—According to her the use of coffee had greatly increased by 1866. She writes: "*Café noir* and *café au lait* are very extensively consumed, and it is therefore all the more inexplicable why coffee should be so indifferent in quality." Pages 67, 68; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 107, 183, 184.—The custom of drinking tea was adopted even more slowly than that of coffee. This was due in a great measure no doubt to the cost which in 1866 was from \$1.80 per pound upwards. Mrs. Byrne says: "It is to be had at the cafés, but it is only asked for by such as wish to pass for having attained advanced ideas." *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 68; cf. *ibid.*, pp. 107, 183. And so it seemed to Flores who writes in 1863: "El gran tono es el té, ya le hemos dicho." Vol. iii, p. 272.—"Yo, te aseguro lector," says Flores in another place, "aunque me tengas por demasiado sentimental y romántico, que no puedo sorber, una taza de té sin pensar en las conquistas de la civilización. ni aspirar el aroma de sus hojas, sin sentir los aromas del árbol de la libertad." P. 262.

⁶⁷ *Works*, vol. iii, p. 232.

salver, of cups of hot chocolate. Each lady took a cup and drank it, and then cakes and bread and butter were served; then each lady took another cup of cold water, and here ended the repast."⁶⁸

Jarvis on one of his voyages to Spain in the latter part of the eighteenth century was favorably impressed by the chocolate that was served him at a private house in San Sebastián.⁶⁹ Noah in 1814 considers it the only thing that is made better in Spain than in any other country.⁷⁰ Warren in 1847 is of the same opinion.⁷¹ Schroeder tells us of the delicious chocolate served him in the *posada* at Loja in 1844.⁷² Mackie finds the chocolate one of the two good things in the country. For him it is "*una de las delicias españolas*." "Hot, and foamy, and purple," he describes it in his usual genial style when speaking of Spain, "it solaces the whole inner man. It satisfies at the same time the longings of the stomach and of the soul."⁷³ The preparation of the chocolate impressed some of the earlier travellers who stopped at small inns where the kitchen was the general gathering place of all. The chocolate is described as a composition of cocoa, sugar and cinnamon made into cakes. Mackenzie says: "To prepare the usual portion for one person, an ounce is thrown into three times its weight of water and, when dissolved by heat it is stirred by means of a piece of wood turned rapidly between the palms of the hands until the whole has a frothy consistency."⁷⁴ In the northern part of the country during

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. iii, p. 240.

⁶⁹ Mrs. M. Pepperrell Sparhawk Cutts, *Life and times of Hon. W. Jarvis*, New York, 1869, p. 102.

⁷⁰ P. 90.

⁷¹ P. 84; *cf. ibid.*, p. 126.

⁷² Vol. ii, p. 113; *cf. ibid.*, p. 111; *Knickerbocker*, vol. xix, p. 123.

⁷³ P. 157.—Although the French travellers had less to say about the chocolate than did those from the United States, they spoke of it in terms of approval. Even Dumas who makes much fun of Spanish cooking calls the *asucarillos* and *chocolate* excellent. "Tout cela," he says referring to them, "était d'une qualité supérieure." Dumas, vol. i, pp. 42, 43.—The English traveller accustomed to carry his tea with him wherever he went probably depended less on the chocolate than did those of other nationalities and for this reason has less to say about it. Mrs. Byrne, however, who praises very little that is Spanish finds it excellent but she adds that it is much too substantial for a beverage." Vol. i, p. 184; *cf. Ford*, p. 57.

⁷⁴ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 63. *Cf. Spain revisited*, vol. ii, p. 64; C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, p. 5.

the latter years of the period we are studying it was made very thin in the French manner, but in other parts of the country the delicious thick kind, the delight of the American traveller, was still served.⁷⁵

As to the manner of serving the chocolate, there seems to be a difference of opinion. Noah, in 1814, found it served in tumblers, but the majority of the travellers seem to have been impressed by the small size of the cups in which it was served.⁷⁶ Nearly all mention the custom of serving large tumblers of water with it.⁷⁷ The curious way of taking the chocolate by dipping slender sponge cakes or long slices of bread into the thick liquid attracted the attention of several travellers.⁷⁸

During the whole of the period we are studying chocolate was the universal morning beverage, and was taken frequently in the evening as well. It was drunk in the home, at the hotel, in the poorest *venta* and even on the road.^{78a} Mrs. Cushing relates that once when she was the only woman present, for the *venta* was kept by men, she was served chocolate in the morning. Noah speaks of taking chocolate in the "*Neverias* or chocolate houses."⁷⁹ Warren took chocolate in "*confiterías*."⁸⁰ In fact chocolate was taken everywhere.⁸¹ Vassar in 1853 noted that it could always be procured throughout Spain.⁸² According to Bryant it was still the universal beverage when he visited the country in 1857.⁸³ But with the inrush of foreigners, the use of coffee and tea, as already stated,

⁷⁵ Pettigrew, p. 364. Cf. *ibid.*, p. 354; *Knickerbocker*, vol. xix, p. 123; Bryant, p. 177; Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 187.

⁷⁶ Dumas says they take their chocolate in thimbles. Dumas, vol. i, p. 70; cf. Ford, p. 143.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ford, p. 143.

⁷⁸ Cf. Noah, p. 90; *Scenes in Spain*, p. 223; Warren, p. 84; Bryant, pp. 127, 177.

^{78a} Cf. Revere, p. 56; Wallis, *Glimpses of Spain*, p. 254, 276; Ford, pp. 57, 143.—Ford says chocolate is to the Spaniard what tea is to a Briton and what coffee is to a Gaul. Ford, p. 142.

⁷⁹ P. 90.—Noah no doubt means *neverías*. He frequently misspells Spanish words or uses them incorrectly.

⁸⁰ P. 84.

⁸¹ Even Ford writes: "It is to be had almost everywhere and is always excellent." P. 142.

⁸² P. 328.

⁸³ P. 177.

was increasing. With other "*cosas de España*," chocolate was giving way to the influence from without. Its power was decreased in proportion to the extent of the social and political changes in the country. In the sixties, it no longer reigns alone.^{83a}

Although the American traveller had often to do without his accustomed cup of tea or coffee, he generally found an abundance of pure, cool water to drink. The Spaniard's fondness for water (evidenced by the prominent place given to the *alcarrasa* in the street, at every *diligence*- or railroad-station, in the home and in every inn, as well as by the numerous fountains), the sound of running water so common in Andalucía, and the familiar cry of the water carrier "*Agua fresca, fría como la nieve*"—all this greatly impressed the American traveller.^{83b}

Nor was the American traveller less struck by the sight of the *bota*, that common appendage of every conveyance in Spain.^{83c} Less critical of the wine than the English or French he was ever ready to take his turn at the *bota* during the long journey or at the country inn. Unlike some English travellers he does not seem to have noticed any disagreeable flavor from the pitch lining of the skin. Mackie, however, contrary to the opinion of most American travellers in Spain, finds the ordinary wine of the country too sweet when new and too rough when old.^{83d} The common wine seems to have been the *Valdepeñas*. It is frequently mentioned by American travellers in Spain as an excellent wine of a rich color and the com-

^{83a} Flores writes in 1863. "*Hoy, Dios gracias, aunque no reina y gobierna, porque el sistema constitucional no consiente estos poderes ambidiestros, reina á medios con los otros dos poderes, el té y el café. Su nombre ha pasado á la posteridad con los de esos otros dos colegas, y algo es algo.*" Flores, vol. iii, p. 273.

^{83b} Cf. Noah, p. 90; Channing, p. 489; Woodruff, p. 255; Irving, *Journals*, vol. iii, p. 78; Byrne, vol. i, p. 85; Ford, p. 138. Ford says that every *posada* has rows of water jars at the entrance, and that the first thing every one does on entering is to drink. Ford, p. 140.

^{83c} Ford speaks at length of the *bota*. He agrees with the American as to its universal use. "A Spanish woman," says Ford, "would as soon think of going to church without her fan or a Spanish man to a fair without a knife, as a traveller without his *bota*." Ford, p. 97.

^{83d} P. 162. Cf. Revere, p. 61; Taylor, p. 428.—Mrs. Byrne is much more severe in her criticism: "As for the *vin comun*," she says, "it is as inferior to the *vin ordinaire* of France as ditch-water is to Stogumber ale." Byrne, vol. i, p. xxix.

mon beverage of the country. Mrs. Le Vert considered that placed before them in Valdepeñas worthy to be set before an emperor.⁸³

That sanitary fashion of taking the wine by holding the *bota* at arms' length and allowing a stream to flow into the mouth, struck nearly every American traveller and some even learned to take long draughts in this manner.⁸⁴

The sherry wine seems to have been in quite as good favor with the American travellers as with Falstaff.⁸⁵ Van Ness used it in Spain and had it sent to his brother in the United States.⁸⁶

A beverage which Warren calls the "national agraz," made from unfermented grape juice, receives his highest praise. "The gods themselves," he says, "never drank anything on a hot day, more invigorating and delicious."⁸⁷

Besides these beverages American travellers found most excellent the refreshing *naranjada* of Andalucía. A variety of *helados*,

⁸³ Speaking of the inn at which they stopped, she says: "In place of water, upon the table there were large earthen vessels filled with this rich fruity wine, worthy of a place at the banquet of an emperor." Le Vert, vol. ii, p. 13.—Ford calls it the "generous *Valdepeñas* or the rich *vino de Toro*." An occasional smell of a *bota* of this is refreshing to the nostrils, according to Ford. "There the racy wine perfume lingers, and brings water into the mouth, it may be into the eyelids." Ford, p. 97; cf. *ibid.*, p. 147.—Swinburne wrote nearly a half a century before: "The *Val de Peñas* produces a very pleasant red wine, the most drinkable, for common use, of any in Spain." Swinburne, p. 319.—Mrs. Byrne, to the contrary disliked this wine. She says "the *Val de Peñas*, which is thought so much of in England, and really is a different article, is, here rather inferior to *liquorice tea*! besides being flavoured with pitch and undressed goatskins." Byrne, vol. i, p. xxix; cf. *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 161, 162; Ford, p. 57.—Ford, about thirty years before, was of quite a different opinion. "Very little pure *Valdepeñas*," says Ford, "ever reaches England; the numerous vendors' bold assertions to the contrary notwithstanding." Ford, p. 149.

⁸⁴ Noah, p. 134; C. E. Cushing, vol. ii, pp. 175, 176; Mackie, p. 163; Mills, p. 135. Cf. Swinburne, pp. 7, 8; Ford, p. 98; Townsend, vol. i, p. 92.

⁸⁵ Mrs. Byrne, as in the case of the *Valdepeñas*, does not find it to be as good as in England. Byrne, vol. i, pp. xxiv, xxx.

⁸⁶ *The Van Buren papers*, vol. x, March 17, 1830.—Van Ness writes to Van Buren from Madrid, March 17, 1830: "I will thank you to tell my brother that I will write him particularly in a few days, and that I have sent orders to Xeres to have two quarter casks of the best sherry wine shipped for him, one of the pale and one of the brown colour." He offers to send the same to Van Buren. He says the price of the first class is about \$90 the quarter (30 gallons) and of the second class which he uses \$75. *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ P. 85.

the *horchata de chufas* and the *boisson d'amandes blanches* did not fail to satisfy the palate of even the French.⁸⁸

American travellers found it quite as difficult to procure cows' milk as they did tea and coffee. The universal custom of using goats' milk and the lack of suitable pasturage for cows in many localities, we are told, made it a rare and expensive luxury enjoyed by few. We are informed in *Scenes in Spain* that cows' milk is little used in 1831. However, with the improved facilities of transportation and the increase in the number of foreigners traveling in the country bringing new ideas and new demands, its use was introduced more generally. By 1849, along with other innovations, had come the *casas de vacas*. Many signs of these accompanied by the illustration of a cow being milked soon struck the eye of the traveller as he passed along the principal streets of Madrid. The milking, Wallis tells us, took place while the customer waited, if he so requested.⁸⁹ In spite of these *casas de vacas* Pettigrew finds milk rare in 1859.⁹⁰

Instead of cows' milk that of sheep, asses, and goats seems to have been in general use throughout the country.⁹¹ Many an American traveller found this milk very unpleasant to the taste. Pettigrew, on the contrary, found it quite agreeable.⁹² Noah was struck by the sight of a flock of goats going from *patio* to *patio* in the early morning to be milked while the customer waited. He found the milk rich and healthy.

"Milk is obtained from goats; large flocks are seen, with their drivers, at day break; the tinkling of their bells disturbs the morn-

⁸⁸ Ford, however, considered these too sweet. P. 144.

⁸⁹ Wallis, *Spain*, p. 334.—Suspicious as usual of Spanish things, Mrs. Byrne thinks it hardly safe to purchase milk here unless one can witness the milking. Byrne, vol. i, p. 204.

⁹⁰ Pettigrew, p. 206. Cf. Bryant, p. 89; Claghorn, p. 199.—According to Mrs. Byrne it was a favorite beverage in 1861 at the capital where the *casas de vacas* were numerous. Byrne, vol. i, p. 204.—At the cafés, she was struck by the sight of men sipping milk while smoking cigars. *Ibid.*, vol. i, p. 183.

⁹¹ Cf. Ford, p. 74.

⁹² P. 286.—None, however, praise it as does the English traveller, Wid-drington, who drank it almost exclusively during his travels in Estremadura. He says: "We drank little wine, and abundance of goats' milk, that is not only the best in the world, but superior to any other milk I ever tasted." *Spain and the Spaniards in 1843*, vol. i, p. 236.

ing nap; the driver brings them into the *patio* of the house, and the milk is received into the vessel, fresh from the goat, which is rich, and healthy, and also a great article of trade."⁹³

Wallis was impressed by a similar daily scene at the capital in 1849. The goats after spending the whole day in the surrounding hills were brought into the city by the goatherd. The author says:

"As they go to the houses of their customers, the maids run out with their milk-vessels in search of the evening supply. The goat-herd seizes the nearest of the flock, and proceeds to business in the middle of the street, while the rest of his company, immediately conscious of a pause in the march, bivouac on the stones till the milking is over. A signal, which they only understand, then sets their bells in a moment to tinkling, and the procession advances, at its leisure, until the calling of another halt."⁹⁴

This was still the mode of delivering milk in 1859.⁹⁵

Another article of consumption, missed quite as much by the American traveller as cows' milk, was the butter made from its cream. According to Noah this was very scarce at Cádiz in 1814. Foreign residents were at that time using imported firkin butter.^{96a} Mrs. Cushing writes about fifteen years later that it is so scarce in the whole country that few can afford to purchase it.⁹⁶ There was, however, even before this date a highly colored butter, called *manteca de Flandes*. It was advertised in one of the daily papers at Madrid when Mackenzie was in Spain in 1826.⁹⁷ Wallis found it very rancid in 1847.⁹⁸ On his second visit, he was very happily impressed with an innovation in the way of the making and selling of butter at only a moderately high rate at the royal dairy at Moncloa, near Madrid. This same year, 1849, salted butter at a lower price was obtainable from the Asturias. Wallis writes of this improvement:

"If he [the traveller] should chance to have been in Spain before,

⁹³ P. 90.

⁹⁴ *Spain*, pp. 335, 336.

⁹⁵ Pettigrew, p. 286.

^{95a} P. 90.

⁹⁶ Vol. ii, p. 52.

⁹⁷ *A year in Spain*, vol. i, p. 140.

⁹⁸ *Glimpses of Spain*, pp. 150, 151; cf. Ford, p. 153.

or to have recently sojourned in any of the districts where things continue to be as they were in the beginning, he will rejoice in his deliverance from goat's milk and the butter prepared from it, or that insufferable compound, *manteca de Flandres* (Flemish butter).⁹⁹

According to Mackie it was very difficult to get good butter when he was in Spain in 1851 and 1852.¹⁰⁰ March, however, found very good butter at Gaucin in 1853.¹⁰¹ Channing, on the contrary, found no butter on his journey from Irún to Madrid in 1852. Neither does he agree with Wallis as to the quality of that furnished in the capital. He says: "They have in Madrid what they call butter, but it did not remind me of the article."¹⁰² Mills was unable to get butter at Toledo in 1865.¹⁰³

One article of food which travellers in general speak well of in Spain is the bread. Noah considered it inferior to none in the world. Vassar found the bread excellent throughout Spain in 1853.¹⁰⁴ The bread of Sevilla is especially praised by all. It is described as not as spongy as that of the United States but of a

⁹⁹ Wallis, *Spain*, p. 335.—According to Ford good butter was obtainable even before this. P. 133.

¹⁰⁰ P. 159.

¹⁰¹ P. 305.

¹⁰² P. 488.

¹⁰³ P. 70. Cf. Bryant, p. 89; Claghorn, p. 199.—No American traveller is, however, as severe in his criticism of the butter in Spain as is Mrs. Byrne. Speaking of the food at San Sebastián she says: "As for the *manteca* that was altogether impossible, as we know of no circumstance which could have induced us even to taste the tallowy looking garlic-scented compound. Had there been any compulsion to 'grease our bread' we should have infinitely preferred an English candle end." Byrne, vol. i, p. 68.—She was quite as suspicious of the butter sold at the *casas de vacas* in Madrid as she was of their milk. Neither did she risk taking that served at the *cafés*. Of a breakfast at one of the latter she writes: "We called the *mozo*, and asked if we could have *café-leche con pan*; as for *manteca*, which he offered us we had long since discarded that condiment from our bill of fare." *Ibid.*, p. 183; cf. *ibid.*, vol. i, p. 91.

¹⁰⁴ P. 328.—Even the English praised the bread. Ford frequently speaks of the good bread in Spain. Ford, p. 87, *passim*.—Mrs. Byrne praises it again and again. In her opinion it is one of "the only two articles of consumption that the natives can turn out credibly." Byrne, vol. i, pp. 96, 91, 107, 185.—According to her the only redeeming feature of the Spanish railroad buffet, at that time not generally known in Spain and most inferior to that of other countries, was the water and the bread the quality of which she says is "such as not easily procured in any other country." Vol. i, p. 85.

closer grain and firm. It remains fresh, we are told, for a week and sometimes longer. Even then it is equal to the best of other countries. "A loaf of it with Spanish chocolate," says Pettigrew, "is a breakfast for a king." Some call it *pan de Dios*.¹⁰⁵ Its superiority at Sevilla is frequently attributed by travellers to the peculiarity of the water at Alcalá de los Panaderos, the nearby town where it is made.¹⁰⁶ The sight of this town of bakers was an impressive one to Warren. He tells us that at the time of his visit in 1849 there were more than two hundred mills in operation and fifty ovens in constant use.¹⁰⁷

While the majority of American travellers in Spain acquired a taste for the *olla*, praised the chocolate, the bread, the trout, the *dulces* and the fruit, and soon adapted themselves to Spanish cooking in general, few failed at some stage of their travels to criticize it. In *Scenes in Spain* we read the *cuisine* at Madrid is detestable in 1831, "a century behind the elegance of Paris."¹⁰⁸ Vail on his journey from Irún to Madrid in 1840 found the food very unpleasant. In a letter dated Madrid, December 10, 1840, he writes to Van Buren:

"The traveller is allowed but six hours rest each night, mostly at inns of the most primitive character, and has to fare on the most loathsome compound of rancid oil, garlic, horse beans, and tough meat frequently taken from a goat dead of natural death or starvation."¹⁰⁹

In the forties the general impulse given to the country began to show itself in the cooking. French *chefs* became more numerous and there was a tendency to imitate French and English dishes. Wallis, on his second visit to Spain found the cooking in general much improved, but most of the restaurants bad. The table d'hôte of the *Vizcaína* at Madrid he says "has a modified nationality of diet which has carried comfort to the bosom of many a wayfarer."¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁵ Cf. *Alhambra*, p. 22; *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 264; Mackie, p. 345; Ford, p. 115.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 264; Warren, p. 133; Taylor, p. 405; Le Vert, vol. ii, p. 1; Pettigrew, p. 23; Ford, p. 115.

¹⁰⁷ P. 133; cf. Ford, p. 115.

¹⁰⁸ P. 181.

¹⁰⁹ *The Van Buren papers*, vol. xli; cf. Vassar, p. 142.

¹¹⁰ *Spain*, p. 8.

Two of the restaurants of the capital are mentioned by him as good. However, he considers Barcelona, Sevilla, Cádiz, and especially Málaga as better provided than Madrid. According to Schroeder the *cuisine* at Málaga was excellent more than five years before. He was evidently well impressed with Spanish cooking for he writes he "can testify in favour of the excellence of Spanish cooks."¹¹¹ According to Warren Spanish cooking is extremely unpleasant to the unaccustomed palate but he tells us not to wonder that any Spanish dish should be eaten with a relish by a foreigner who has lived in the country.¹¹² Mackie on his journey from Valencia to Madrid in 1852 found "no evidence of any high culinary art. "But," he adds, "who that travels in the peninsula expects to do anything more than keep body and soul together?"¹¹³ Taylor at about the same date finds the *cuisine* at the *Fonda de Madrid*, Sevilla, excellent. At Carmona he was not so fortunate and he says that according to reports the cooking is even worse in the interior.¹¹⁴ Maccoun the same year considers the cooking of the poorest village inn of France better than that of Spain. "The Spanish *cuisine*," he says, "is execrable."¹¹⁵ Maccoun, however, in his extremely adverse criticism is an exception among the American travellers. Mrs. Le Vert, in Spain about three years later, frequently speaks of very good meals.¹¹⁶ She believes that all the stories about poor inns are false and states that she has found the inns excellent.¹¹⁷ The only place where she was not well and plenteously served was at the town of Igualda beyond Monserrat.¹¹⁸ Mrs. Allen who travelled in Spain in 1864 is of quite a different opinion. She expresses her satisfaction, on her arrival at Bayonne, at being in a French hotel "where French cooking restored their flagging appetites."¹¹⁹ Mrs. Claghorn two years later found the

¹¹¹ Vol. ii, p. 163.

¹¹² Pp. 112, 113; cf. Mackie, pp. 155, 156.

¹¹³ P. 345; cf. *Traces of the Roman and Moor*, p. 418.

¹¹⁴ P. 406.

¹¹⁵ *Knicker. Mag.*, vol. xli, pp. 98, 99.

¹¹⁶ Vol. i, p. 329; vol. ii, pp. 3, 8, 11, 15, 16, 48, 57.

¹¹⁷ Vol. ii, p. 25; cf. Channing, p. 491.

¹¹⁸ Vol. ii, p. 53.

¹¹⁹ She says: "It was pleasant to be again in a French hotel where cleanliness, a rare luxury in Spain, was the rule, and where French cooking restored our flagging appetites, weary of the everlasting Spanish oil." Pp. 504, 505.

accommodations in Spain bad in general but the cooking especially so. Unlike other travellers she has not even a good word to say for the bread. She writes in one of her letters: "I feel half starved most of the time and cannot even fall back upon the bread and butter, for they are as bad as can be."¹²⁰ Mills who travelled in Spain the year before, and much more extensively, found the *cuisine*, in general, tolerable. "One can always find," he says, "excellent chocolate, bread, salad and generally a good cutlet or chop, however, wherever he goes."¹²²

Although the American traveller's criticism of Spanish cooking is rather sharp in some cases, it is on the whole much less poignant than that of the Italian, French or English.¹²²

¹²⁰ Pp. 196, 198.

¹²¹ P. 70.

¹²² By far more acrid in his opinion of Spanish cooking than the American was the Italian, Pecchio, who writes from Briviesca in 1821: "In verita, avrei rinunziato volontieri la notte scorsa a quattro sensi almeno. Una zuppa che non avrebbe allettato neppure un can levriere di ritorno dalla caccia, Costole abbrustolite di castrato delicate come quella scommunicata in pergamena che Barnabò Visconti fece trangugiare ai legati del Papa; vino fetente di pelle di caprone; quattro noci ben secche, senza tovaglie, senza cambio di piatti, ecco la cena che ci fu imbandita nell' osteria del mastro di posta di. . ." Pecchio, p. 5.—The execrable *cuisine* was one thing for which the French could not forgive their neighbors across the Pyrenees. Had they ventured into unfrequented sections, as did the Americans, instead of following the beaten track it is difficult to conjecture what they might have said. We read in *Le voyage en Espagne*: "La cuisine de l'Espagne, et les hôtelleries, n'ont pas été sensiblement améliorées depuis don Quichotte; les peintures d'omelettes emplumées, de merluches coriaces, d'huile rance et de pois chiches pouvant servir de balles pour les fusils sont encore de la plus exacte vérité; mais, par exemple, je ne sais pas où l'on trouverait aujourd'hui les belles poulardes et les oies monstrueuses des noces de Gamache." Gautier, pp. 138, 139.—Dumas found the food even worse than that of Italy. "En Italie," he says, "où l'on mange mal, les bons restaurateurs sont français; en Espagne, où l'on ne mange pas du tout, les bons restaurateurs sont italiens." Dumas, vol. i, p. 70.—The English had hardly a better opinion of Spanish cooking than had the French and Italians. According to Ford "but few things are ever done in Spain in *real style*, which implies forethought and expense; everything is a make-shift." Culinary conditions he thinks quite as bad as in the East. "Spain, as the East, is not to be enjoyed by the over-fastidious in the fleshy comforts; there, those who over analyse, who peep too much behind the culinary or domestic curtains, must not expect to pass a tranquil existence." Ford, pp. 107, 168.—Ford frequently ridicules the cooking. Roasting, a requisite in every English *cuisine*, he found almost unknown in Spain.—Mrs. Byrne, although in Spain only a year after Mills

According to American travellers, the accommodations, then, furnished by the lonely *venta* and the village inn, were on the whole meagre until well toward the middle of the nineteenth century and even until much later off the main routes of travel. The *fondas*, too, although they improved greatly in the larger cities during the general awakening following the death of Ferdinand VII, were far from furnishing those comforts found in other countries where there was more travel.¹²³

has quite a different opinion from him as to the food. She not only found it poor but sometimes extremely scanty. Like her fellow-countrymen and the French she has much to say about the cuisine. Her descriptions of the "skeletons compressed into tightly strained parchment skins served for chicken" and "the tallowy butter" remind one of some in *Don Quijote*, and in *Le Voyage en Espagne*. Like other English travellers—and contrary to the custom of American travellers—she constantly compares with the English. The famous Spanish hams she does not find as appetising as "a respectable English ham," and the wine is not as good as that of England. Indeed for her "the Spanish cuisine is such a ticklish affair that it would be hard for an Englishman to be compelled to feed at any given place in Spain." Byrne, vol. i, pp. 91, 172. —Again she writes of the Madrid Foundling: "The food is such as the country affords, and such as the habits of the people have rendered admissible but it would not be palatable to English taste." *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 90.

¹²³ In the writings of Spaniards of that day, we find ample testimony as to these conditions. Larra writes of the *posadas* of Estremadura: "En segundo lugar esas posadas, fieles a nuestras antiguas tradiciones, son por el estilo de la que nos pinta Moratin en una de sus comedias; todas las de la carrera rivalizan en miseria y desagrado, excepto la de Navalcarnero, que es peor y campa sola sin émulos ni rivales por su rara originalidad y su desmantelamiento; entiéndase que hablo sólo de la que pertenece á la empresa de los mensajerías—habrá otras mejores tal vez; no es difícil." Larra, p. 450.

The bad inn is frequently cited by Breton de los Herreros. In the comedy, *A Madrid no vuelvo*, Don Baltasar finding the guest has not gotten up looks at his watch and says:

"Las siete. Estos cortesanos
Son lo mismo que las aves
Nocturnas. Eh, no me admiro
Después de un molesto viaje
Por caminos tan perversos
Y posadas tan fatales. . . ."

Manuel Breton de los Herreros, *Obras escogidas*, Paris, 1862, vol. i.

In *Una noche en Burgos* Don Celed replies to his daughter who says that Don Luis, whom he wishes to entertain, may prefer his liberty at the inn:

Pues más completa
la tendrá allí que en un mal
parador.

Manuel Breton de los Herreros, *Una noche en Burgos*,

Madrid, 1843, p. 32.

Because of these conditions, during the early part of the period we are studying, it was the custom, in places where there were no good inns, to entertain travellers of the upper classes in the homes. William Carmichael writes to Short in 1792 that he can procure him letters of introduction to the principal persons in the different cities of Spain through which he may pass.¹²⁴ Monroe found the inns so bad at Irún in 1804 that he gladly accepted an invitation to spend the night at the home of one of the foreign ministers. Here he found "some others of the best society of the Travellers who were detained by the cordon."¹²⁵ Ticknor was entertained by the higher clergy and others in 1818. His reception by the postmaster of Madrilejos particularly impressed him. Of this circumstance he writes:

"My license to post was endorsed with a particular order from the Ministry, that the postmasters should receive me with attention, and give me any assistance I might need. The one at Madrilejos showed, from the moment I entered his house, a kind of dignified obedience to his order, which struck me."¹²⁶

Irving in speaking of his visit to Moguer in 1828 says: "Few people travel for pleasure or curiosity in these out-of-the-way parts of Spain, and those of any note are generally received into private houses."¹²⁷

When he presented his letter of introduction at the house of one of the descendants of the Pinzóns, who sailed with Columbus,

¹²⁴ He writes from Madrid September 9, 1792: "As I am generally known here, I can procure you letters of introduction to the principal persons in the different cities thro' which you may pass." *The papers of William Short*, Manuscript Division, L. C., vol. xxi.

¹²⁵ *Diary*.—Townsend was favorably impressed by his hospitable reception at the homes of Spaniards during his travels in Spain in 1786 and 1787. Now he is received by a family whose "style of living resembles the old British hospitality," now by the Archbishop at Sevilla who is "well lodged and keeps a hospitable table," now by the Count of Afalto, governor of Barcelona and captain general of the province. He speaks especially of his entertainment by the upper clergy of whom he has a high opinion. In his directions to those who expect to travel in Spain, he mentions the necessity of letters of introduction to the principal families in the places to be visited. Vol. ii, pp. 43, 49, 288, 289; vol. iii, pp. 319, 321.

¹²⁶ Ticknor, *Life*, vol. i, p. 222.

¹²⁷ *Works*, vol. vii, p. 536.

he was immediately invited to give up his room at the inn for one in their home. Although the inn was one of the primitive kind already described, ill provided with the necessary comforts, Irving did not feel it would be right for him to change, as the kind inn-keeper had taken some trouble for his accommodation. However, he took his meals with the Pinzóns during his sojourn in the place, and was deeply impressed by their kindness.¹²⁸

¹²⁸ Irving, *Works*, vol. vii, p. 538.—Widdrington is told at Almadén: "It is impossible that you can stop at the posada, which is only fit for arrieros; the governor having only just been appointed is a bachelor, and has but a limited number of beds which are now occupied, otherwise he would have received you at his house." *Spain and the Spaniards in 1843*, vol. i, p. 162; cf. *ibid.*, vol. i, pp. 16, 106.—Not infrequently did the village priest entertain the stranger. Ford says: "It has more than once befallen us in the rude *ventas* of the Salamanca district, that the silver-haired *cura*, whose living barely furnished the means whereby to live, on hearing the simple fact that an Englishman was arrived, has come down to offer his house and fare." Ford, p. 180.—Borrow in spite of his persistency in thrusting his bibles on the community was invited by an old priest whom he met at the Irish college in Salamanca to pay him a visit on passing through his village. Borrow, vol. i, pp. 281, 398; cf. *ibid.*, vol. ii, pp. 40, 79, 89.—That the traveller was frequently entertained in private homes is corroborated in the Spanish writings of that day. The *hospedador de provincia* according to Rivas was a Spanish type which had not changed in the slightest during the general overthrow following the death of Ferdinand VII. "¿Quién podrá imaginar que el hombre acomodado, que vive en una ciudad de provincia, ó en un pueblo de alguna consideración, y que se complace en alojar y obsequiar en su casa á los transeúntes que le van recomendados, ó con quienes tiene relaciones, es un tipo de la sociedad española, y un tipo que apenas ha padecido la más ligera alteración en el trastorno general, que no ha dejado títere con cabeza? Pues, sí, pío lector; ese benévolo personaje que se ejercita en practicar la recomendable virtud de la hospitalidad, y a quien llamaremos el *Hospedador de Provincia*, es una planta indígena de nuestro suelo, que se conserva inalterable. *Los Españoles pintados por sí mismos*, vol. i, p. 384.—The *hospedador de provincia*, he tells us, is known to all Spaniards and to all foreigners who have travelled in Spain. Both the travellers in the *coche de colleras* or those in the post chaise of forty years before the travellers of his day, in diligence, galera, or on horseback, all he contends have experienced this hospitality. P. 385.—Larra praises particularly the hospitality of Badajoz: "La amabilidad sin embargo y el trato fino de las personas y familias principales de Badajoz compensan con usura las desventajas del pueblo, y si bien carece de atractivos para detener mucho tiempo en su seno al viajero, al mismo tiempo le es difícil á éste separarse de él sin un profundo sentimiento de gratitud por poco que haya conocido personas de Badajoz y que haya tenido ocasión de recibir sus obsequios y de ser objeto de sus atracciones." P. 450.—The comedies of that day also mention the fact that the traveller was entertained in private houses. Breton de los Herreros gives a good picture of this hospitality

These and other examples of hospitality will be considered more in detail in the chapter entitled, "The People."

in *Una Noche en Burgos*. One of the chief characters, Don Celed, replies to the posadera who complains that he takes away her guests:

"Muger, deja que despunte
en mi amigable recinto
este benéfico instinto
de hospedar al transeunte."

The doors of Don Celed's house are always open wide to the stranger or to friends. He replied to Don Luis who does not wish to trouble him:

"¡Quiá!
Obsequiar al forastero,
Sea Pedro, ó sea Juan
es mi delicia; y al hijo
de un amigo tan cordial
cuando á nadie se la cierro,
¿no he de abrir de par en par
mi puerta?"

P. 32; cf. *ibid.*, p. 93.

C. EVANGELINE FARNHAM

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

ALESSANDRO MANZONI-BECCARIA, ROMANTICIST

“C’E sont des sujets si rebattus que je n’ose presque pas vous les nommer. c’est . . . ah! vous allez vous écrier . . . c’est oui, c’est sur les trois unités”. . . .

(Letter of Manzoni to Fauriel, June 11, 1817.)

“Ed io son persuaso che una qualunque verità pubblicata contribuisce sempre ad illuminare e riordinare un tal poco il caos delle nozioni dell’ universale, che sono il principio delle azioni dell’ universale..”

(First letter of Manzoni to Fauriel, February 9, 1806.)

J. B. Galley, in his life of Fauriel says of Manzoni’s *Carmagnola*: “Que cette pièce ait été écrite à Paris, près de lui (Fauriel) avec ses conseils, c’est certain. Il n’est pas moins certain qu’il en a revu la forme. Mais je pense qu’il est possible d’attribuer à son inspiration des vues d’histoire littéraire qui sont trop de son domaine. Les données historiques sur la formation de la tragédie française y sont exposées avec une sûreté qui révèle une connaissance approfondie du XVIIe siècle: je ne crois pas exagérer en voyant là des indications de Fauriel. Mais dans l’opuscule (*Letter to Chauvet*) le débat est porté plus haut. Shakespeare qu’on ne lisait encore en France que dans la première traduction de Letourneur (1776–1783) y est cité à toutes les pages, et la louange, pour n’être pas sans réserve, y paraît enthousiaste. Il est possible que Fauriel ait ouvert cette voie à son ami. Je n’insiste pas sur ces suppositions que rien n’autorise, pas même les déférences si empressées des lettres de Manzoni. . . . Ces discussions empruntent à leur date une signification particulière. Qu’était en 1820, le romantisme en France? Victor Hugo en était encore à ses odes royalistes et ne prévoyait guère la préface de Cromwell (d’octobre 1827).”¹

We note in passing two points of detail: Manzoni did indeed know his seventeenth century, it was the period he preferred, and he knew all French literature very thoroughly.² It is exaggerating

¹ J. B. Galley, *Claude Fauriel*, Saint-Etienne, Imp. de la Loire républicaine, 1908, pp. 282/3. Galley had not the *Carteggio*, ed. Hoepli, at his disposal, but he had De Gubernatis, *Il Manzoni ed il Fauriel*, and he cites it.

² Cesare Cantù says better than Italian; *Reminiscenze*, p. 199.

to say that Shakespeare is quoted on every page of the *Lettre*, tho he is referred to more than once—and without any reserve worth mentioning. One does not see just the force of the argument (for Fauriel) that the English poet was still read in France only in the Letourneur version. It was this that Manzoni read, or at least bought, but Shakespeare had had champions in Italy earlier, and Scherillo holds that Monti inspired in Manzoni his admiration for the great unshackled one.³

Evidently Galley is following Sainte-Beuve or his followers. Sainte-Beuve is sure that Fauriel was the inspiration of the *Car-magnola* and *Adelchi*, which he calls “ce que le drame romantique a produit de plus distingué en Europe durant cette période de 1815 à 1820.” He adds that these tragedies “ne sauraient sans doute se considérer comme un appendice de l’histoire littéraire du romantisme en France sous la Restauration, mais il nous suffit que ces deux œuvres remarquables y tiennent par plusieurs de leurs racines.”⁴ This latter statement, properly construed, may be considered correct, but it was not so construed by Sainte-Beuve’s followers on this path. Marc-Monnier, in his article written just after the death of Manzoni, says of the tragedies that they

“portent leur date . . . en les lisant dans l’année où nous sommes, on s’aperçoit bien vite qu’elles remontent aux vieilles querelles entre les classiques et les novateurs. . . . Les idées venaient, il est vrai, de France, où Manzoni s’était inspiré de Mme de Staël et de Chateaubriand; Fauriel et Cousin étaient aussi pour quelque chose dans cette renaissance italienne. Les jeunes novateurs connaissaient les livres de Schlegel, et Silvio Pellico n’était pas sans relations avec Byron; mais audessus de tout cela, il y avait un besoin de retremper la littérature aux sources vives, de recommencer l’entreprise interrompue de Goldoni, qui s’était efforcé de retourner à la nature, ou du moins au naturel.”⁵

Here again the way is pointed out, but not taken.

³ *Ammiratori ed Imitatori dello Shakespeare prima del Manzoni*, Nuova Ant. Nov. 16, 1892.

⁴ *Portraits contemporains*, IV, p. 215.

⁵ Rev. Deux Mondes, July 15, 1873, p. 34 sq.—As to Goldoni, Marc-Monnier was right, he says in the dedication of the *Malcontenti* to G. Murray (ed. of 1754 only): “Per me tengo sicurissimo, che Aristotele colla sua poetica, e Orazio suo imitatore, ci abbiano recato assai più danno che utile . . . G’Inglesi e gli Spagnuoli, sciolti si sono dall’ingiurioso legame, e seriamente pensando non essere la rappresentazione teatrale se non un’imitazione ragionevole delle azioni umane . . .

Marsan re-echoes Sainte-Beuve.⁶ Edmond Biré, among others, takes a juster view, he says of Hugo:

"Il admet l'unité d'action, mais il rejette l'unité de temps et l'unité de lieu. Il a certes raison sur ces deux points, mais il ne venait ici qu'après Guillaume Schlegel . . . après Mme. de Staël . . . après Manzoni . . . après Stendhal, enfin."

Hugo nowhere acknowledges indebtedness to Manzoni. He speaks in the *Préface de Cromwell* of the "prétendue règle des deux unités" (the very words of Manzoni in the *Lettre*), and says: "Des contemporains distingués, étrangers et nationaux, ont déjà attaqué et par la pratique et par la théorie, cette loi fondamentale du code pseudo-aristotélique," and Souriau notes: "Schlegel, Manzoni dans la *Lettre à Chauvet* et dans la préface de *Carmagnola, de l'Allemagne*, et Stendhal, *Racine et Shakespeare*."⁸

We shall see later Manzoni's own list of authorities.

The friendship of Manzoni and Fauriel is well-known and has been told by the biographers of both, as well as by Sainte-Beuve in his *Fauriel and Manzoni*.⁹ They met in that circle of Auteuil in which Cesare Beccaria had introduced his daughter, and Donna Giulia in turn her son. The documentary evidence of the relation is to be found in the correspondence, chiefly Manzoni's letters, Fauriel's having been lost in many cases. The first in date is of February 9, 1806, and is in Italian, later Manzoni wrote in French. He had sent Fauriel a copy of his lines to Carlo Imbonati, and that poem, then the "versi sciolti," are the subjects discussed. Manzoni also thanks Fauriel for the loan of a copy of "Beccaria."¹⁰ This first, like many of the later letters, shows the admiration of Manzoni for Fauriel, an admiration which became affection. It does not show Manzoni as a disciple, the two men appear as equals.¹¹

si mantennero in libertà di dilatare l'azione al tempo necessario all'intiera consumazione de'fatti storici e favolosi, e si valsero della mutazione delle scene alla loro condotta opportuna."

⁶ *Bataille romantique*, 1912.

⁷ *Victor Hugo avant 1830*, p. 431.

⁸ E. Souriau; *Préface de Cromwell*, p. 231.

⁹ *Portraits contemporains*, vol. IV. Cf. especially De Gubernatis, *Il Manzoni e il Fauriel studiati nel loro carteggio*, Roma, Barbèra, 2d ed., 1880.

¹⁰ *Opere del Manzoni*, IV, Hoepli, 1907-1921. This is the edition hereafter referred to as *op.*

¹¹ "Quello che voi dite degli sciolti, e il modello che proponete di questa

When Manzoni returns to Italy there is interchange of books, Faureil ordering for his friend quite a library (including the Le-tourneur Shakespeare). He also sends gardenseeds—both men were keenly interested in horticulture.¹² The books sent by Manzoni are mostly of the earlier Italian period with material for the Dante course. Fauriel acknowledges in the introduction to this course his indebtedness to Manzoni. Later works on the romantic movement figure in both lists, Fauriel contemplated writing a history of the development in Italy. The correspondence is less flourishing after Manzoni's visit to France in 1819–1820, the children, particularly the eldest daughter (goddaughter of Fauriel and later wife of Massimo D'Azeglio) write oftener than their father. It ceases after 1827.¹³

The first allusion to the *Carmagnola* is of March 25, 1816.

. . . "J'espère terminer une tragédie que j'ai commencé (sic) avec beaucoup d'ardeur et l'espoir de faire au moins une chose neuve chez nous. J'ai mon plan, j'ai partagé mon action, j'ai versifié quelques scènes, et j'ai même préparé dans ma tête une dédicace à mon meilleur ami: croyez-vous qu'il l'acceptera? Le sujet c'est la mort de François Carmagnola: si vous voulez vous rappeler son histoire avec détail, voyez-la à la fin du huitième volume des *Républiques Italiennes* de Sismondi. . . . Elle tient un espace de six ans: c'est un fort soufflet à la règle de l'unité de temps, mais ce n'est pas vous qui en serez scandalisé. Après avoir bien lu Shakespeare, et quelque chose de ce qu'on a écrit dans ces derniers temps sur le Théâtre, et après y avoir songé, mes idées se sont bien changées sur certaines réputations. . . . Je me tais, mais si je pouvais m'entretenir avec vous là-dessus, je suis presque sûr que je n'aurais pas à réformer maniera di verseggiare, fa vedere quanto conoscete l'indole della Poesia italiana," etc.—In later letters, as those of June 4, 1822, and Aug. 1823, Manzoni urges, almost admonishes his friend to give his time to his great work (the *Histoire du Midi*).

¹² It is interesting to note the practical love of nature in various romantics. Charles Nodier studied insects; cf. Salomon, *Nodier*, p. 20. Fauriel was fond of spading (Galley, p. 119), his specialty was mosses. On the *Conciliatore*, Porro and Serristori represented agricultural interests.

¹³ Karl Witte, *Deutsches Rundschau*, Oct. 1907, argues for a rupture. Maria Nogana Albana, *Ultimo Soggiorno del Manzoni a Parigi, Vita e Pensiero*, n. 20, Jan. 1917, and sq., thinks there was some lack of the complete sympathy that had existed prior to Manzoni's conversion to Catholicism. The only mention of this matter in their letters is that of Sept. 21, 1810, when Manzoni tells his friend that these things are hidden from the wise and revealed to the simple.

mes idées, mais que vous me fourniriez de nouveaux et profonds raisonnements en faveur de mon opinion.”¹⁴

In the following letter, of July 13, 1816:

“Ne croyez que je veuille faire la guerre aux règles pour avoir le plaisir de les combattre sans nécessité: je ne fais que les éviter quand je les trouve dans mon chemin, et qu’il me paraît qu’elles m’empêchent d’arriver ou de bien marcher. Qu’il est triste pour moi de ne pouvoir vous consulter, et combien de fois je m’efforce de deviner quel serait votre avis, si j’avais la consolation de pouvoir vous le demander! J’amasse des idées et des observations pour un long discours qui doit accompagner ma Tragédie, et celui-ci n’aurait pas moins besoin qu’elle d’être fait avec vos conseils et sous vos yeux. Je commence à croire qu’on est ici disposé à recevoir favorablement les nouveautés raisonnables en littérature: il se fait peu à peu une crise dans l’opinion à ce sujet, et il me paraît qu’on doute sans s’en douter, sur beaucoup d’opinions qu’on croyait assurées. Quoiqu’il y ait chez nous beaucoup moins d’idées vraies et étendues en circulation sur la littérature que chez vous, quoiqu’on répète tous les jours, que ce qui s’éloigne de l’antiquité ne vaut rien, qu’il y a une littérature pour chaque nation, et que les limites en sont très marquées, qu’il faut toujours marcher par le même chemin parce qu’il est le seul qui mène au beau, je crois que tous ces préjugés ne tiendraient pas contre un ouvrage qui irât par quelque autre chemin. Il me paraît qu’on est plus difficile en France.”¹⁵

June 11, 1817, Manzoni writes:

“J’ai forte envie de vous parler de mes travaux littéraires, mais j’en ai aussi un peu de honte, je n’ose presque plus vous parler de ma tragédie qui est comme la bâtisse du Louvre. . . . Sachez donc que je suis dans mon deuxième acte, et que je vois que cela ira encore bien doucement. . . . J’ai aussi commencé quelques discours sur la tragédie, mais ce sont des sujets si rebattus que je n’ose presque pas vous les nommer. C’est . . . ah! vous allez vous écrier . . . c’est, oui, c’est sur les *trois unités*. Mais que voulez-vous, s’il me paraît que ma manière d’envisager cette question est neuve? . . . C’est encore sur la moralité de la tragédie. Eh bien! je me donne à croire qu’il y a des difficultés de Bossuet, de Nicole, et de Rousseau qu’on peut résoudre, qu’on n’a pas résolues, et que je résous. Je crois aussi avoir quelque chose de nouveau à dire sur les deux systèmes modernes de tragédies sur lesquels on dispute tant; mais

¹⁴ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 364.

¹⁵ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 372.

ce qui est sûr c'est que c'est malheureux pour toutes ces paperasses qu'elles ne passent pas sous vos yeux avant de paraître."¹⁶

These letters show Manzoni with his subject, his plan, his method, his opinions, with knowledge of what others were doing and thinking; he hopes to receive from his friend understanding and approval, nothing more. He was meditating a theoretical treatise (the *Preface?*), which will in any case furnish material for the *Lettre à Chauvet*, immediately called forth by the attack. We note also the readiness of Italy for "nouveau-tés raisonnables," and the "crise." It was in 1816 that Berchet wrote his *Lettera semiseria*, the manifest of the Italian movement. In 1817, Manzoni was not even as well as usual, he wished to come to Paris, in hope of amelioration as of seeing Fauriel, but was not able to arrange the journey. His interest in the controversy about romanticism in Italy does not slacken, he writes Fauriel (March 19, 1817), that he is sending him a "petit ouvrage" by a young Italian author of French extraction, saying that the pamphlet, which is the *Letteria semiseria di Grisostomo*, has made a great deal of noise in Italy and that people are preparing to refute it, which will not be easy, since Berchet has put forward and destroyed all the arguments which might have been brought up against him.¹⁷ May 23, of the same year, Manzoni asks that certain books be sent, adding to his list:

"Si vous pouvez vous en charger, je vous prie aussi d'y ajouter les ouvrages de critique et d'esthétique intéressants qui peuvent avoir paru dans ces dernières années, particulièrement s'il y en a de relatifs au romantisme, pour ou contre. . . . Pareillement s'il est sorti quelque livre intéressant sur l'agriculture depuis 1810."¹⁸

During this period of incubation of the *Carmagnola*, Manzoni published four of his *Inni Sacri* (in 1815); in a letter from Gaetano Cattaneo, of Nov. 25, we learn that it was this friend who sent the *Inni* to Goethe, whose favorable opinion of them prepared him to receive with interest the two tragedies.¹⁹

Fauriel did not reply to the letter about Berchet, and Manzoni

¹⁶ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 397. Manzoni thinks his theoretical work may excite more attention in France than his tragedy. *Op.* IV, 1, p. 398.

¹⁷ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 385.

¹⁸ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 392.

¹⁹ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 415.

asked him a second time his opinion of the work, reproaching him for a silence of two years and more.²⁰ Under date of April 28, 1819, Giulia Manzoni writes most affectionately to Fauriel, complaining of his neglect. She says that Buttura has taken him a copy of a pamphlet of Ermete Visconti's, and that now a continuation of the same matter is being forwarded.²¹ The first was undoubtedly the *Idee elementari della poesia romantica*, which appeared in the *Conciliatore*, the second the *Dialogo sulle unità drammatiche di luogo e di tempo*, which Fauriel translated and published with the tragedies of Manzoni, 1823. It appears from the letter of Manzoni, July 26, 1819, that Fauriel finally wrote and gave a favorable opinion of Berchet. Manzoni says Visconti is sending a note to explain more clearly his ideas on the movement. He adds that his own work had been interrupted for a year because of his *Osservazioni sulla morale cattolica*, which he thinks will not interest Fauriel, especially as it belongs to the melancholy genre of refutations. (It was a reply to Sismondi's attacks in the *Histoire des Républiques Italiennes*, t. 16.)

The longed-for visit to France began October 1, 1819, and ended July 25, 1820. A part of it was spent at the Maisonnette, with Fauriel and Mme. Condorcet. The *Carmagnola* was left in the printer's hands, Berchet and Visconti attending to the censure and other details.²² Manzoni retouched "una parlata nell'atto IV di cui non è soddisfatto," as Visconti writes to Gaetano Cataneo,²³ but there is nothing to show that Fauriel had any hand in this small change. The play was dedicated to him, without his signified consent. It saw the light of day about New Year's, 1820.

²⁰ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 411.

²¹ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 421.

²² *Op.* IV, 1, p. 435/6. Cf. also pp. 438/9 and 443. Manzoni also thanks his uncle Giulio Beccaria, in a letter of Feb. 1820, for having occupied himself with his literary affairs. Cf. Maria Nogara Albani, *l'Ultimo Soggiorno di A. Manzoni a Parigi, Vita e Pensiero*, No. 20, Jan. 1917 and sq.

Galley says (*Fauriel*, p. 279) that the *Carmagnola* appeared in Milan at the end of 1819, and that Fauriel published a translation of it in 1820, but we find no proof for either statement. Scherillo (*Op.* III, p. 150) says the first edition was that of Vincenzo Ferraris, Milano, 1820. Galley bases his assertion on passages from the 1823 translation of the tragedies (p. 249).

²³ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 438.

Silvio Pellico writes his brother Luigi, January 8, 1820, that he is sending him a copy of the "cosa divina."²⁴

The battle over it began at once. Baron Giovanni Sardagna, government official and self-styled "romantic," was a regular contributor to the Austrian-fostered *Biblioteca italiana*, altho he sent his productions to Giovanni Acerbi (editor) for corrections of syntax and orthography. He wrote his chief, January 18, 1820, to reserve a page and a half in the next number for his criticism of Manzoni's tragedy.²⁵ Visconti wrote Fauriel on the same day, as it chanced, asking him to get a review into the *Revue encyclopédique* or some similar periodical. This seems not to have been done, tho Fauriel was actively interested in the *Revue encyclopédique*.

The *Gazzetta di Genova*, n. 5, January 15, 1820, also published an adverse criticism, calling the tragedy one "ove sono apertamente violate le inviolabili leggi delle unità di luogo e di tempo; tragedia di cui eroico non è l'argomento . . . tale tragedia non può, fuor di dubbio, giudicarsi che pessima e perniciosa."²⁷ Luigi Pellico took up the gauntlet in the same *Gazetta*, n. 13, February 12, 1820, to the delight, as his brother writes him, of "tutta la nostra società. . . . Il crocchio Visconti e Berchet, che è tutto Manzoni, ha fatto girare in ogni casa di Milano il foglio di Genova."²⁸

The *Edinburg Review*, sometimes called the leader of the romantic forces,²⁹ took no notice of the Carmagnola, and the *Quarterly Review* did so only in the issue of October 20, 1820. This article says:

"The author boldly declared against the Unities. To ourselves, 'chartered libertines,' . . . little confirmation will be gained from this proselyte to our tramontane notions of dramatic liberty, we fear, however, that the Italians will require a more splendid violation of their old-established laws before they may be led to abandon them. . . . But the chorus, end Act. II, is the most noble lyric Italy of the present day has produced."³⁰

²⁴ *Op.* IV, 1, 457.

²⁵ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 458. The criticism appeared in the *Biblioteca*, t. XVII.

²⁶ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 459 sq.

²⁷ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 462.

²⁸ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 463.

²⁹ Cf. later, p. 14 for this figure of the romantic army.

³⁰ The criticism is Foscolo's but is not, as often stated, the same as the one in

Goethe, at this time the real, tho apparently unwilling chieftain of the movement, hastened to the defence of Manzoni as attacked in this article.⁸¹ Charles Loyson, founder of the *Lycée français*, sent Manzoni a long poem in manuscript; *L'Enthousiasme lyrique, ode à Monsieur Alexandre Manzoni*, but the most important criticism, in its effects, was that of Victor Chauvet, also in the *Lycée*.⁸²

Fauriel was, as with many of his projects, slow in getting out his translation of the *Carmagnola*, that of Auguste Trognon appeared in 1822.⁸³ Fauriel's, in the following year, contained the two tragedies, the *Lettre à M. Chauvet* and Visconti's *Dialogue sur l'Unité de Temps et de Lieu*, with Goethe's criticism of the *Carmagnola*.⁸⁴ There was a second printing of Trognon's translation in his *Opere* (vol. 14, p. 293, of the LeMonnier ed., 1850): *Della nuova scuola drammatica in Italia*. This contains considerations also of the *Adelchi*, and other remarks place it as of later date. "Questo vezzo di poeti storici (dissertazioni per mostrarsi fidele alla storia) è omai degenerato in abuso, in intemperanza, in mania in ogni paese, e gl'Italiani si giustificano coll' esempio de' Francesi, de' Tedeschi, e ancora più, degl'Inglese," p. 297).

⁸¹ *Kunst und Altertum*, III, 2n Heft, 1821. Cf. also *Klassiker und Romantiker in Italien*, 1818, in which he speaks of the then unfinished *Carmagnola*.

⁸² *Op.* IV, 1, p. 469.

Many of the French reviews were of the Fauriel translation, so of 1823 or later. The *Journal des Savants*, Aug. 1823, p. 477, is favorable. The *Journal des Débats* also,—it became the French romantic organ, as is shown in Musset's *Lettres de Dupuis et Cottonnet*, letter 1.

⁸³ He speaks in the preface to the reprint as tho he had translated the *Carmagnola* in 1821. (*Chefs-d'œuvres des Théâtres étrangers*, Paris, Rapilly, 1827, p. XVI. The first edition of the Trognon is not in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.) The translator's comment on the tendencies of the tragedy (page cited) is: "Cette tragédie est composée dans le système qu'on est convenu assez mal à propos d'appeler chez nous romantisme."—He later translated the *Promessi Sposi*, abridging the story of the pest.

⁸⁴ *Le Comte de Carmagnola et Adelghis*, Paris, Bossange frères, 1823. Fauriel says in the preface: "C'est dans la persuasion qu'il reste encore quelque chose à dire et à faire, chez nous, pour le perfectionnement et des théories et des productions de l'art dramatique, que j'ai traduit et publié les différentes pièces qui composent ce volume. . . . Des principales pièces de ce recueil, la tragédie de *Carmagnola* est la seule qui ne soit pas nouvelle. Publiée à Milan en 1820, elle a été depuis, m'a-t-on dit, réimprimée à Londres, il en a paru une traduction française qui a été favorablement accueillie du public; enfin, elle a été examinée, louée, critiquée dans les principaux journaux littéraires d'Italie et de France, d'Angleterre et d'Allemagne, et même dans les opuscules dont elle a été le sujet exprès. D'après tout cela, le sort de cette tragédie peut paraître aujourd'hui décidé: elle appartient désormais à la littérature européenne, et tout autorise à présumer qu'elle y restera." And of the *Lettre*: S'il restait . . . à découvrir, à l'appui du système

1827 and of Fauriel's in 1834. In 1848 came the translation of Antoine de Latour. That is, there were two printings of the Trognon and the first Fauriel supplying the French reading public when the *Cromwell* appeared, and the demand was great enough to warrant a new translation more than twenty years later. Trognon, in the edition of 1827, calls the *Carmagnola* the most important of the five plays which he contributed to the collection, and gives a brief biography of the author.⁸⁵ In addition to these French translations, there appeared in Paris a pirated Italian edition.⁸⁶ The success of the *Carmagnola*, as of its successor, was however a book success, neither tragedy was given more than a few times, and then in the face of opposition.⁸⁷ This may have been partly on account of Manzoni's peculiar timidity, he could never have organized a "first evening" à la Hugo. Goethe was desirous of having the plays staged in Germany, tho he himself translated only portions.⁸⁸ But it is clear that the reputation, vogue, hence influence, was great in France, greater perhaps even than in Italy, since Visconti hoped that the reception given it in France would augment the glory of his friend in his own land.⁸⁹

One cannot affirm that Manzoni created a school in either coun-

des deux unités, quelques raisons plus solides que celles par lesquelles on l'a soutenu jusqu'à ce jour, les objections de M. Manzoni, outre qu'elles fourniraient de nouveaux motifs de chercher ces raisons, indiqueraient aussi de nouvelles voies pour y parvenir; et ce serait encore là un véritable service qu'elles auraient rendu à notre littérature."

⁸⁵ Paris, Delahaye. Lanson's bibliography mentions the first Trognon, 1822, the first Fauriel, 1823, and a Latour, 1841. The writer has found only the 1848, which may be a reprint. The translator says in his Dédicace: "Avant qu'il fût question en France d'une école nouvelle, Manzoni entraînait en maître expérimenté dans cette route où depuis nous avons fait tant de faux pas. . . . *Le Comte de Carmagnola* ne fut point représenté; on pourrait dire que dès son apparition, il eut pour spectateurs tout ce qu'il y avait en Europe d'esprits attentifs à la rénovation littéraire qui se préparait."

⁸⁶ Paris, Baudry, 1826. Cf. *Op.* IV, 2, pp. 216, 222. The 1830 edition of the same is noted as the seventh, increased.

⁸⁷ De Gubernatis, *Ricordi biografici*, Firenze, 1872, tells of the attempt to stage the *Carmagnola* in Florence, 1829. The trouble at that time and place was less than when the *Adelchi* was put on in Turin. But De Gubernatis, like Goethe, is convinced that both tragedies are "rappresentabili," if only the champions of classicism would refrain from hissing, etc.

⁸⁸ *Kunst und Altertum*, Biedermann, t. 29, p. 625.

⁸⁹ *Op.* IV, 2, pp. 96/7, letter of Aug. 10, 1823, to Fauriel. Also IV, 2, pp. 96/7.

try; J. J. Ampère wrote "une tragédie d'Adelghis sous le titre de Rosemonde, . . . qu'il composait sans doute d'après Manzoni," says Sainte-Beuve.⁴⁰ But mostly the influence must be ranked as an imponderable.

Manzoni's reply to the criticism of Chauvet was written during his visit to France and was left with Fauriel for publication. The idea seems to have been to incorporate it in Fauriel's projected history of the romantic movement in Italy. Since we have no record of their conversations, it is not possible to say exactly what Fauriel contributed to the *Lettre à M. C. (Chauvet) sur l'Unité de temps et de lieu dans la tragédie*. But the correspondence concerning it after Manzoni's return to Italy reduces his friend's rôle rather to that of procrastinator. Manzoni writes, October 17, 1820, that the reply coming so long after the attack, might perhaps better be suppressed, he does not wish to display a "rancune italienne."⁴¹ Throughout this letter, Manzoni appears as the principal, not the disciple of his older friend. Further, and more important, there is really nothing in the *Lettre* that was not, in embryo, in the correspondence of earlier date.

We do not wish to deny the merits or influence of Fauriel. He was certainly among the first in France to formulate romantic views, as is clear from his review of Mme. de Staël's *Littérature*.⁴² It is also clear that he encouraged Manzoni's advanced opinions—when he took the trouble to write him. Altho he did not explicitly and in words, he did in fact accept the dedication of the first tragedy.

If, then, the ascendancy of Fauriel is proved to have been nothing more than encouragement and sympathy (sometimes left to be divined!), what were the influences of importance in Manzoni's development at this time? Whom does he himself acknowledge? In the Preface to *Carmagnola*, Schlegel;⁴³ in the *Lettre*, Schlegel and Ernest Visconti.⁴⁴ He cites, in the latter, the example of Shake-

⁴⁰ *Nouveaux Lundis*, t. 13, ed. Lévy, 1872, p. 119.

⁴¹ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 498.

⁴² Published anonymously in the *Décade*, 10, 20, 30 prairial, an VIII. Sainte-Beuve said, before discovering the authorship, that there were at that time only three men in France who could have held such opinions, B. Constant, Ch. de Villers and Fauriel. (*Portraits cont.*, IV, p. 143.)

⁴³ *Op.* III, 1, p. 154 and again 313.

⁴⁴ *Op.* III, 1, p. 337.

speare and Goethe⁴⁵ and in a paragraph later omitted by his wish, Schiller.

"I padri suoi" are then, Schlegel and Visconti. In the notes published posthumously as *Materiali estetici*, he says: "La pratica di quest' ideale drammatico si vede portata al più alto grado in molte tragedie di Shakespeare, ed esempj notabilissimi ne sono pure le tragedie di Schiller, del signor Goethe, per non parlare che di quelle ch'io conosco.—La teoria è (non già completa, nè senza eccezione . . .) la teoria è nel *Discours des préfaces*, premesso alla traduzione di Shakespeare, negli scritti del signor Schlegel, di Mme. di Staël, del signor Sismondi, e dei tratti nuovi e luminosi se ne trovano pure in varj recentissimi scritti di nostri Italiani, principalmente negli estratti ragionati di opere drammatiche che stanno nel *Conciliatore*. . . . Ma siccome appunto gli stranieri . . . la (opinione) vanno da qualche tempo ventilando, non è possibile trattarla senza ridire cose già dette de essi. Non sapendo io medesimo scerverare, astrarre, e dispaccare, per così dire, le idee mie proprie su questo soggetto da quelle che possono essere ricavate o suggerite da opere anteriori, o non volendo essere nè parere plagiatario, cito a piè di pagina quelle di queste opere che io ho lette." And he quotes: "Shakespeare traduit de l'anglais, t. I, *Discours des Préfaces*, p. C e seg. *De la Littérature du Midi de l'Europe* par J. C. L. Sismonde de Sismondi; t. III, p. 462 e seg. *De l'Allemagne*, par Mme. la Baronne de Staël-Holstein, t. II, p. 7 e seg. *Cours de Littérature dramatique* par A. W. Schlegel, traduit de l'allemand; t. II, p. 86 e seg."⁴⁶ He says in the preface to *Carmagnola*: "Mi studierò per altro di fare piuttosto una picciola appendice, che una ripetizione degli scritti che le (unità) hanno già combattute."⁴⁷

To consider these authorities or forerunners: Auguste Wilhelm Schlegel was among the most widely recognized Romantics of the period. He carried into other lands the influence of Winckelmann, Lessing and Goethe, but in addition to these he was influenced by Mme. de Staël, and to a degree which it is not easy to measure. As Manzoni mentions both in his notes, it is convenient to consider them together. Brunetière affirms that his countrywoman was the main inspiration of Schlegel, also of Sismondi.⁴⁸ Her own posi-

⁴⁵ *Op.* III, I, p. 336.

⁴⁶ *Op.* III, I, pp. 389 and 414.

⁴⁷ *Op.* III, I, p. 154.

⁴⁸ *Histoire litt.*, p. 76, sq. Mme. de Staël's influence is undoubtedly pervasive, Stendhal properly calls her salon "les états généraux de l'opinion européenne."

tion was clear in 1800, when she published *De la littérature considérée dans ses rapports avec les constitutions sociales*.⁴⁹ From March 1804, when Schlegel, on the recommendation of Goethe, became tutor to her son, the two were separated only during the period of Schlegel's exile, in 1814. When Mme. de Staël went to Italy, 1804, Schlegel and Sismondi followed, and in Rome they all frequented the house of Humboldt.⁵⁰

Corinne (1807) is distinctly romantic. In December of the same year Mme. de Staël and Schlegel went to Germany, and in Vienna, after Carnival 1808, he gave, before a select audience of about three hundred persons, his famous *Course on Dramatic Literature*.⁵¹ The work was translated into French by Mme. de Staël's cousin, Mme. Necker de Saussure, in 1814. It was this version (Appendice to *Rome, Naples et Florence*, ed. 1817, fragment of July 6.) Her article on translations, which stirred up great strife in Italy, appeared in the first number of the *Biblioteca italiana*, 1816, which was eager to attach to itself the most prominent writers of the day. Ludovico di Breme defended her, first in the *Biblioteca*, then in his *Discorso intorno all'ingiustizia di alcuni giudizi letterari italiani*. Cf. Muoni, *Ludovico di Breme e le prime polemiche attorno a Mme. de Staël*.

Sismondi's *Littérature du midi de l'Europe* was given in lectures in Geneva, in 1811, printed in 1813.

⁴⁹ Vinet holds that this work is the prospectus of romanticism, altho it suffered from its appearance at the same moment as the *Génie du Christianisme*. (*Etudes sur la litt. française au XIXe*, p. 54.) And Guizot: "Trois puissances littéraires (je ne parle pas des savants ni des philosophes qui ont brillé durant l'empire et exercé sur les écrivains et sur le public une influence féconde): le *Journal des Débats*, M. de Chateaubriand et Mme. de Staël." (*Preface à Corneille et son temps*, p. III, IV.)

Stendhal, inimical to Mme. de Staël, says "l'on peut croire qu'elle a fait son livre (*l'Allemagne*) sur des analyses fournies par M. Schlegel." (*Correspondance*, ed. Lévy, Paris, 1855, t. I, p. 79.)

⁵⁰ Cf. Blennerhassett, *Mme. de Staël et son temps*, t. III. ch. 2. Her closest friendship at this time was with Monti, she knew the Marquis di Breme, one of the founders of the *Conciliatore*. Her acquaintance with Manzoni was slight, if indeed she knew him at all. She learned to appreciate Italy during this visit at the termination of which, June 22, 1805, she exclaimed: "Vegno di loco ove tornar disio."

⁵¹ It had been preceded by his study of the *Two Phædras*, in which is seen the influence of Mme. de Staël. He had seen her in the rôle of Racine's heroine. On the other hand, her chapter on the drama in *l'Allemagne* exposes Schlegel's views. This work was first published in Chaumont, during her temporary return to France, March, 1810, but was condemned by the censor and the printing destroyed. The next was in England, 1813. Her great influence in her own country dates from this edition.

that Manzoni knew. Around this work rallied the Romantics, the war was on.

Charles Nodier reviewed the *Cours* in the *Journal de l'Empire*, March 4, 1814. He defines "classiques" as a

"collection de Régles tirées des chefs-d'œuvres de tous les modèles et sous lesquelles peuvent être rangées tous les exemples du beau. . . . Qu'est-ce donc que le romantique . . . qu'un beau qui n'est pas classique et qui ne peut pas l'être? . . . Un des grands arguments que l'on puisse opposer aux règles, est tiré de la perfectibilité de notre nature." Nevertheless he holds "le genre romantique une invention fausse. Quant aux poètes qu'on a rangés dans cette catégorie, ils n'y appartiennent que par leurs fautes."

In the same *Journal*, March 11, 1814, is a review (by Y) of Sismondi's *Littérature du midi*. The author says that people had wanted freedom and novelty and that ideas of the sort were vaguely discussed at the beginning of the century, but

"le nouveau système n'avoit pas encore pris sous la plume d'une dame célèbre, et sous une autre plume non moins illustre et brillante ce caractère précis et déterminé qu'il vient d'acquiescer dans les traités de MM. Sismondi et Schlegel. . . . Ils ont franchi un grand espace; ils sont arrivés à ce point où une question capable d'exciter de violents débats . . . paroît dans tout son jour."

And after an analysis of Sismondi's exposition of Aristotle's theory:

"La littérature classique est un parti, Boileau, Horace, Aristote, sont des chefs de parti. Qu'est-ce que le romantisme?"

In the continuation of the article:

"Ainsi donc, par les manifestes réunis, positifs, bien et dûment libellés, de MM. Schlegel et Sismondi, voilà la guerre civile décidément allumée dans tous les Etats d'Apollon! Les bannières, sur lesquelles sont écrits des devises différentes: les noms d'Aristote, de Quintilien, de Cicéron, d'Horace, de Boileau, se lisent sur les étendards des classiques; les drapeaux des romantiques ne portent le nom l'aucun législateur; on n'y voit briller que ces mots: *Ossian, Shakespeare, Kotzebue, Genre Rêveur, abolition des Unités Dramatiques, mépris de tout art poétique, nullité de goût*: de quel côté penchera la victoire? le monde est dans l'attente."

This seems to be the first of the descriptions of the two parties as armies, Stendhal later elaborated it, in *Shakespeare et Racine*.

As we know from his correspondence, Manzoni was informed of the discussion going on in France. As to the importance of Schlegel, the English took a different view. The *Edinburg Review* finds nothing new or revolutionary in the work.⁵²

The reviewer thinks that Schlegel made a good distinction of the romantic from the classic, in that the latter describes things as interesting in themselves, the former dwells more on the association of ideas with the things. For instance, the mythology of the Greeks was material and definite, the Christian religion is essentially spiritual and abstract. So the romantics naturally turn to it.

Stendhal was not mentioned by Manzoni as in any way influencing him, and he could scarcely have done so, as his direct contribution to the movement, *Racine et Shakespeare*, was published in Paris in 1823. It was during the stay in Milan which began in 1815 that he became so identified with the city (or so he imagined) that he wished to have himself labeled "Milanese" on his tombstone. He would have been more nearly right had he inscribed what he later called himself, "passager sur le vaisseau."⁵³ But he was a friend of the Conciliatori, especially of Silvio Pellico, this fact was the cause of his expulsion from Milan by the Austrians, in 1821. He was a romantic in conviction, at least for some years, rather of the English type, but at the same time he held, and propagated in Paris after his return, many of the ideas of the Milan group. He was certainly an influence in France, and with Hugo.⁵⁴ He throws a

⁵² The article begins with some amusing general criticism of German literary criticism. "(This work is German; and is to be received with the allowances which that school of literature generally requires. With these, however, it will be found a good work; and as we should be sorry to begin our account of it with an unmeaning sneer, we will explain at once what appears to us to be the weak side of German literature. In all that they do, it is evident that they are much more influenced by a desire of distinction than by an impulse of the imagination, or the consciousness of extraordinary qualifications. They write, not because they are full of a subject, but because they think it a subject upon which, with due pains and labour, something striking may be written. So they read and meditate.—and having, at length, devised some strange and paradoxical view of the matter, they set about establishing it with all their might and main. . . . Though they have dug deeply in the mine of knowledge, they have too often confounded the dross and the ore, and counted their gains rather by their weight than their quality. . . . We should not have made these remarks, if the work before us had formed an absolute exception to them.")

(Review of English translation of Schlegel's Course, John Black, translator Baldwin, 1815. *Edinburg Review*, Oct. 26, 1816.)

⁵³ *Stendhal e la letteratura italiana*, A. Giglio, Milan, Hoepli, 1921, p. 74.

⁵⁴ Giglio, *op. cit.*, pp. 85/6. This work is authoritative on the subject. Sainte-Beuve also testifies that Stendhal did much to destroy the French prejudices of

good many side-lights on the movement, as on the political situation in Italy. He was convinced that freedom and unity must come before the real Risorgimento.⁵⁵ He greatly admired Beccaria,⁵⁶ concerning whom he got a good deal of first-hand information, but he never fully appreciated Manzoni: "J'ai vu de loin M. Manzoni, jeune homme fort dévot, qui dispute à lord Byron l'honneur d'être le plus grand poète lyrique parmi les vivants. Il a fait deux ou trois odes qui me touchent profondément."⁵⁷ He esteemed less highly the two tragedies, tho admitting the *Adelchi* as next in excellence after Pellico's *Francesca da Rimini*.⁵⁸ He had early admired Schlegel, whom he knew in Vienna, and whose *Cours*, in Mme. de Saussure's translation, he read and annotated during the period from 1814 to 1821, but later he turned against him, as against Mme. de Staël.

Ermes Visconti cannot be disassociated from his fellow-Conciliari, his rôle in the group may be compared to that of Du Bellay in the Pléiade. He was not with Porro, Pellico, Berchet, Borsieri and Breme at the inception of the sheet, but the latter announced his adhesion in words that need no comment: "Pecchio e Visconti si sono aggiunti al drappello, e sono, s'è possibile, più accaloriti di noi."⁵⁹

The "foglio azzurro" did not proclaim itself the organ of a revolution; Pellico wrote to Foscolo, "l'intitolammo così perchè ci proponiamo di conciliare, e conciliamo infatti tutti i sinceri amatori del vero."⁶⁰ Borsieri gave as their motto: "Patria, perfettibilità, incivilimento."⁶¹ Of these three words, the first best characterizes the group; the list of contributors⁶² shows the political color, not 1820 and revealed to him, as to many of his generation, the beauties of Italian literature. (*Causeries de lundi*, IX, p. 321.)

⁵⁵ *Rome, Naples et Florence*, Lévy, Paris, 1865, pp. 9/10.

⁵⁶ "Les philosophes dignes d'être élèves de Socrate (ce n'est pas qu'ils fussent rhéteurs comme Platon), Verri, Beccaria et Parini." (*Rome, Naples et Florence*, p. 65.)

⁵⁷ *Rome, Naples et Florence*, p. 98. Cf. also letter to De Mareste, 1819.

⁵⁸ Giglio, *op. cit.*, pp. 71 and 111.

⁵⁹ Quoted after Cesare Cantù, *Il Conciliatore e i Carbonari*, Milano, Treves, 1868, p. 59. The letter is of Nov. 15, 1818, that is, only a little more than two months after the formation of the group.

⁶⁰ *Epistolario*, ed. Stefani, Firenze, Le Monnier, 1856, p. 16.

⁶¹ *Il Conciliatore*, n. 32, p. 120.

⁶² They were: Porro, Pellico, Di Breme, Confaloniere, Berchet, Girolamo

all were carbonari, but so many that Cantù conveniently treated of them all together in his well-known work. The Austrian government was not slow on the scent, the first accusation, which came from Rome to Cardinal Consalvi, secretary of state, was that

"a Milano erasi formata una società detta Romantica, collo scopo di insegnare che l'uomo non è soggetto ad alcun principio di religione e di morale; molti signori esservi ascritti, e nominatamente il celebre Pellegrino Rossi, il quale è in relazione con lord Byron. Questo Byron venne a Bologna per impiantarvi tale setta."⁶³

It would seem at the first glance that no truth could dwell in such a hodge-podge, but that keen observer, Stendhal, wrote to his friend the "Baron de N," almost at this moment: "Vous vous moquiez de moi quand je vous disais que le *romantisme* était la queue du *libéralisme*; il fait dire: *examinons et méprisons l'ancien*."⁶⁴

The governor of Milan replied that the circle was a purely literary one, but spying and censoring continued until the periodical ceased to appear, its decease being coincident with the arrest of Pellico.⁶⁵

The romanticism of the group was, considering the movement in Latin countries, early in date. As Cantù says. "Basta dire che il tentativo italiano precorse Lamartine e Hugo: e fu contemporaneo de Koerner e di Goethe, il quale pronunziò il Romanticismo essere un genere morboso, eccetto in Manzoni."⁶⁶

Manzoni was correct in writing to Fauriel that all numbers of the *Conciliatore* were of the utmost importance for the comprehension of the movement in Italy. He sent him, with the numbers containing the principal articles on the subject, a synopsis of the

Pripo, P. Ressi, Romagnosi, G. B. Cristoforis, Rasori, Giuseppe and Luigi Pecchio, Porsieni, Visconti, Camillo Ugoni, Vantini, Sismondi, Serristori and Ridolfi. (Cantù, *op. cit.*, pp. 93/4.)

⁶³ Cantù, *op. cit.*, pp. 89/90.

⁶⁴ *Correspondance*, Lévy, Paris, 1855, I, p. 144.

⁶⁵ There were in all 118 numbers, appearing between Sept. 3, 1818 and Oct. 17, 1819. Visconti announced the disappearance of the periodical to Manzoni, then in Paris. The *Revue encyclopédique*, last number of 1820, contains an article by Sismondi on Breme and the *Conciliatore*.

⁶⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 27. Cf. also really all that has been written in Italian on the subject, as Mazzoni's *Ottocento*, Finzi, F. De Sanctis, *Scritti varj inediti*, ed. B. Croce, t. 1: G. A. Borgese, *Storia della critica romantica in Italia*, Milano, 1920, etc. Also Victor Waille, *le Romantisme de Manzoni*, Alger, Fontana, 1890.

whole, having previously sent Berchet's *Lettera semiseria*⁶⁷ and the first pamphlet of Visconti—probably the *Idee elementari della poesia romantica*, since the *Dialogo sulle unità drammatiche* is following.⁶⁸ Fauriel was much impressed by the ideas of Visconti. In incorporating the *Dialogo* in his translation of Manzoni's tragedies, he says that it first appeared in the *Conciliatore* (January 24 and 28, 1819) and "y faisait du bruit. C'est à ma connaissance, le premier écrit publié, en italien, dans l'intention expresse de prouver que les règles sur l'unité de temps et de lieu, dans les compositions dramatiques, sont purement arbitraires, et plus désavantageuses qu'utiles."⁶⁹ Since the Fauriel translations were evidently much read in France, Visconti must also be reckoned as one of the foreign writers on the subject, known to Hugo.

Fauriel and Visconti exchanged a number of letters, found in the Manzoni *Carteggio*, and to these have recently been added others found among the Fauriel papers preserved in the Institut de France. In one, which Gallavresi thinks was a letter sent, not to Fauriel but to Manzoni during his visit of 1819 and 1820, Visconti replies to a request to define romanticism, and after dismissing as inaccurate or inadequate the definitions of Mme. de Staël, Schlegel, Bouterweck and "altri oltramontani," he says that romantic are "non sole le poesie che gli antichi non potevano pensare perchè mancava loro quello sviluppo dell'animo che vi è richiesto, ma anche quelle che essi non potevano eseguire perchè a loro ne mancavano i materiali esteriori," e.g. the history of America. This, which seems sufficiently evident, was at the time an additional clarification. He adds that it was Milan that tabooed mythology.⁷⁰

In Italy, as in France, the roots of this matter must be sought far back, as well as far afield, but we are not considering here the roots, rather the moment of the flowering, in the *Carmagnola*.

⁶⁷ The books recommended by Grisostomo to his son are of interest. They are the works of Vico, Burke, Bouterweck, Lessing, Schiller, Mme de Staël and Schlegel.

⁶⁸ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 497. It is clear from this, the first letter after their separation, that Fauriel had consulted Manzoni in regard to his projected history of romanticism in Italy, and that Manzoni is the authority.

⁶⁹ Preface to the Tragedies, pp. II, III.

⁷⁰ Cf. Manzoni's *Lettera sul Romanticismo*. There were however others who condemned the use of mythology.

The period, as the place are differentiated by the word of Borsieri: *Patria*. This special urge prevented the servile imitation of English or German writers, and, combined with a predominance of *reason*, the exaggerations, the mania for the grotesque seen elsewhere. The oppressor knew this vaguely, as we have seen, the Italians both then and later knew it better; the romantic school drew their thoughts to a time when Italy was, comparatively, united and free, most of all forward to a real unification and freedom. Nicolini wrote to Ugoni: "Il *Conciliatore* non dee considerarsi come semplicemente romantico, ma nazionale, è una sacra favilla, che sorge tra la notte e il gelo della nostra patria, e non deve assolutamente morire." ⁷¹

Marc-Monnier, in calling the *Conciliatore* "une sorte de *Muse française*," ⁷² means, of course, that the two periodicals had a similar rôle in the two countries, the *Muse* was of later date (1823-1824). The *Conciliatore* has been properly regarded, both by its founders and by later investigators, as a continuation of the *Caffè*. The editors, in their *Programma* to the first number say: "Quando Addison (sic) e Steele, quando Verri e Beccaria, quando Heeren e Bouterweck, La Harpe e Ginguené fecero dono di ottimi giornali all' Inghilterra, all' Italia, alla Germania ed alla Francia, noi stimiamo che ben meritassero non solo della repubblica letteraria, ma della sociale pur anco," and their intention is the same. In number 91, "i due estensori, Grisostomo e P." publish what purports to be an unpublished manuscript of the *Caffè*, and in number 49 is a review of Adeodato Rossi's *Orazione in lode del conte Pietro Verri*, in which the author (Ludovico di Breme), urges that Verri and Beccaria be given the glory they deserve, their names should be on the lips of every mother of a family. ⁷³ Camillo Ugoni, himself a conciliatore, wrote in his literary history of the period that their organ was "similissimo a quello (il *Caffè*) negli estensori e nello scopo." ⁷⁴

⁷¹ Cantù, *Conciliatore e Carbonari*, p. 243.

⁷² *Rev. Deux Mondes*, July 15, 1873, p. 366.

⁷³ The files consulted, both of *il Conciliatore* and *il Caffè*, were those of the Biblioteca nazionale of Florence.

⁷⁴ *Letteratura italiana della seconda metà del secolo XVIII*, t. II, pp. 132/3.—Among later investigators should be mentioned Pier Angelo Menzio, *Dal Conciliatore*, Unione Tip. 1919, and Piergili, *Il Foglio azzurro e i primi Romantici*, Nuova Ant., Sept. 1, 1886.

Pellico wrote Ugo Foscolo, September 9, 1818: "Siamo associati all' *Edenburg Review*,"⁷⁵ and later that they are to have "per fautori nell' estero la Staël, Schlegel, Sismondi e Ginguené."

The *Conciliatore* was not unknown in France, Stendhal writes his Parisian correspondent, December 11, 1818: "Lisez-vous le *Conciliatore*? Non, car, 1: il est bête 2: il est libéral. Cependant, s'il paraît chez Galagnani, lisez, dans les six derniers numéros, des articles signés E. V. (Visconti). C'est sur le romantisme."⁷⁶ The term "local color" so beloved of the French romantics of 1827, seems to have been invented by Berchet: "tinte locali," *Sulla Saccontala*, number 53 of the *Conciliatore*.

As to the progenitors of the *Caffè*, Villemain's claim of French influence and the kindly encouragement of Count Firmian, has been refuted by all the Italian students. The model was certainly Addison's *Spectator*, as is evident in their opening article, number 1: "*Qual fine vi ha fatto nascere un tal progetto?* Il fine d'una aggredevole occupazione per noi, il fine di far quel bene che possiamo alla nostra Patria, il fine di spargere delle utili cognizioni fra i nostri Cittadini divertendoli, come già altrove fecero e Steele, e Swift, e Addison e Pope ed altri." The title comes from the fact that the sheet was "nato in una bottega di Caffè."

So the *Conciliatore* may be called the "nipote" of our *Spectator*.⁷⁷ Manzoni did not become an avowed member of the group

⁷⁵ *Epistolario*, ed. Le Monnier, Firenze, 1856, p. 14.

⁷⁶ *Correspondance*, Lévy, Paris, 1855, t. I, p. 101.

⁷⁷ "Che l'arte vostra quella, quanto puote,
Segue, come 'l maestro fa il discente,

Si che vostra arte a Dio quasi è nipote." (*Inferno*, XI, 103 sq.)

—Ugoni and Cantù are not so near the *Caffè* as the *Conciliatore*, but their opinion is still of value. Ugoni says: "Non è picciola gloria per Milano che dal suo seno sia uscito il *Caffè* e mezzo secolo dopo il giornale letterario il *Conciliatore*, due collezioni de' quali, negli estensori, nello scopo, nella riputazione offeriscono più conformità." (*Letteratura*, t. II, p. 132/3.) And Cantù: The youths who formed the *Caffè* "si proponevano di combattere la tirannia de' pedanti, e far l'importante e onorato mestiere di litterato si spogli di quel restante d'impostura, di frode, di logoro, che pur tuttavia ha il suo partito, benchè assai minore di quello che coltiva in pace e in buona fede i vasti campi dell'umano sapere." (*Beccaria e Dei Delitti*, Firenze, 1862, p. 21.) Stendhal, *Correspondance*, ed. cit., t. I, p. 223: "Il y eut à Milan, vers 1880, une nichée de philosophes. Ils furent remarquables parce qu'ils osèrent penser par eux-mêmes. L'Europe doit Beccaria à cette école. Le comte Verri était son ami intime; ils publièrent ensemble un journal dont le

of *Conciliatori*, perhaps from a constitutional aversion to disputes, especially literary.⁷⁸ But he calls Di Breme, Berchet, Borsieri, Porro, Pellico and Visconti his “compagnons de souffrance littéraire,”⁷⁹ and he was, in fact, what Pio Ferrier has called him: “capo invisibile del drappello.”⁸⁰ It was Pellico who asked, in the *Conciliatore* of October 27, 1818, if the French system was the best for drama, Manzoni replied, both with the *Carmagnola* and in the theoretical expositions which accompanied and followed it. Pellico felt it necessary, in giving other rectifications to F. Cruger, who was compiling an article for Brockhaus' Encyclopedia, to state: *Il Conte di Carmagnola* di Manzoni non trasse punto influenza nè relazione dal giornale il *Conciliatore*; sono cose separate sebbene di scrittori amici.”⁸¹

The theoretical writings have been spoken of, with the exception of the *Lettera sul Romanticismo*, which comes later, even after the *Adelchi*, in 1823, and was not printed until 1846. But Cesare Tapparelli D'Azeglio, to whom it was written, privately passed it about, so that it was well known before it was published.

In this letter, Manzoni especially condemns mythology as “vera idolatria.” He says, justly, that the word “romantic” has a differ-

Spectateur, d'Addison fut le modèle; le journal milanais s'appela le *Café*. Comme le soleil est plus chaud et la prudence plus faible à Milan qu'à Londres, il y a plus de passion et plus de gaieté dans le *Café* que dans le *Spectateur*.”

Stendhal had first-hand information about the school, as about Beccaria. (Cf. *Rome, Naples et Florence*, ed. Lévy, 1865, p. 76.)

Cf. also L. Ferrari, *Del Caffè, periodico milanese del secolo XVIII*, Pisa, 1899; and E. Bouvy, *Le Comte Pietro Verri, ses idées et son temps*. Paris, 1889.

Suard's *Gazette Littéraire* regularly translated the best articles of the *Caffè*.

⁷⁸ He writes to Luigi Fratti of Reggio, who wished to combat the censure of the *Inni Sacri*: “Egli è in me antico proposito, e antica consuetudine, lo star fuori affatto di ogni disputa di letteratura italiana, per mite e urbana che possa essere; e non solo starne fuori, ma ignorarla.” (*Op.* IV, 2, p. 592.) And to Giuseppe Bianchetti, who had sent him a pamphlet of his own, tho thanking him prettily: “Non ho letto, nè son per leggere, l'articolo intorno ai romanzi storici . . . e questo per un mio proposito di non leggere nulla, che risguardi controversie della letteratura italiana.” (*Op.* IV, 2, p. 654.)

⁷⁹ *Op.* IV, 1, p. 512.

⁸⁰ *Alcune Notizie Autobiografiche, Epistolario*, Le Monnier, Firenze, 1856, p. 466.

⁸¹ *Scritti Postumi del Manzoni*, ed. Sforza, Milano, 1900, p. 40, p. 54, p. 74, p. 86.

ent meaning in each country, in Italy even in each province, in each city. But

"in Milano, dove s'è parlato più, e più a lungo che altrove, la parola *romanticismo*, se pure non m'inganno, è stata adoperata a rappresentare un complesso d'idee più ragionevole, più ordinato, più generale che nessun altro al quale sia stata applicata le stessa denominazione. . . . Intorno alle regole in generale. . . . Ogni regola, per esser ricevuta da uomini debbe avere la sua ragione nella natura della mente umana. . . . Il principio, di necessità tanto più indeterminato, quanto più esteso, mi sembra esser questo: Che la poesia, e la letteratura in genere debba proporsi l'utile per iscopo, il vero per soggetto, e l'interessante per mezzo. . . . In tutta la guerra del romanticismo, non è dunque morta che la parola."⁸¹

Unconsciously, but perhaps for that very reason more fully and justly, Manzoni has acknowledged another debt:

"Mi accade spesso, leggendo opere letterarie, precettive, o polemiche, anteriori al sistema romantico, di abbattere in idee molto ragionevoli, ma indipendenti della dottrina generale del libro idee volanti, per dire così, le quali, nel sistema romantico, sono collocate razionalmente, e vi sono divenute stabili e feconde."⁸²

Undoubtedly there were sown in his mind seeds borne by many winds and which had passed over many lands. But there was one which was not a passing breeze, which was the atmosphere of his daily life: Alessandro Manzoni was born the grandson of Cesare Beccaria, he grew up surrounded, guided by the glory of that name, it was that name which introduced him into intellectual circles in France, it was that name that he signed in youth.⁸³

He was only nine years old when his grandfather died, and he seems to have seen him but once,⁸⁴ but his mother, Cesare Beccaria's daughter, was a member of his immediate household from the death

⁸¹ *Scritti Postumi del Manzoni*, ed. Sforza, Milano, 1900, 40, 54, 74, 86.

⁸² *Lettera sul Romanticismo*, *Scritti Postumi del Manzoni*, ed. Sforza, p. 68.

⁸³ He wished to sign his first verses of importance, those to Carlo Imbonati, Alessandro Manzoni Beccaria (*Op.* IV, 1, pp. 33-37, letter of March 12, 1806). He tells in this same letter to Pagani of dining with Le Brun, who presented him a work of his, writing in it: "A M. Beccaria. C'est un nom trop honorable pour ne pas saisir l'occasion de le porter. Je veux que le nom de Le Brun choque avec celui de Beccaria." Manzoni signs this letter: "Il tuo Manzoni Beccaria."

⁸⁴ His childish recollections of this meeting, sweetened by the chocolates his grandfather gave him, are told in Cristoforo Fabris' *Memorie manzoniane*, pp. 50 and 96.

of Carlo Imbonati; it was she who presented him to his grandfather's friends and admirers. The portrait of Beccaria occupied the most conspicuous place in the Manzoni drawing room and was especially mentioned in his will, as going, with other portraits not so singled out, to his favorite and eldest son, whose death he mourned in his own last days.⁸⁵

The contemporary Charles Didier testifies: "Manzoni a poussé le culte de son aïeul jusqu'à hériter de ses inimitiés littéraires et privées, et parce que Parini n'aimait ni Verri ni Beccaria. . . . Manzoni ne fait nul cas de Parini."⁸⁶

Arturo Graf has indicated some points of resemblance between grandfather and grandson:

"Beccaria ebbe mente di novatore, e come disse Pietro Verri, testa fatta per tentare strade nuove; una testa dunque come l'ebbe il Manzoni, egli seppe conciliare il rigore e la saldezza della ragione con la libertà e la fluidità dell'immaginativo e del sentimento. Il Beccaria fu profondo algebrista, ed ebbe fantasia vivacissima e prepotente, e fu poeta (buon poeta, assicura l'amico).⁸⁷ Scopriamo nell'avo una vena satirica che ingrossa poi nel nipote. Tutt'e due sono d'indole timida e casalinga, involta in una onesta pigrizia: curano i proprii comodi; lascian vedere un'aria di bonomia . . . sono inettissimi alle faccende . . . scrivono di malissima voglia lettere e ogni altra cosa. . . . Entrambi non potevano reggere a star soli, ed entrambi stavano mal volentieri in luoghi dove fossero adunati molta gente. Entrambi ebbero amore alla villa. Rimasti vedovi, entrambi si riammogliarono.⁸⁸ L'avo disegnò di fare un confronto fra romanzi e storie, e il nipote compose il discorso sopra

⁸⁵ Policarpo Petrocchi, *Prima giovinezza di A. Manzoni*, p. 101.

It will be remembered that the little book, *Dei delitti e delle pene*, was immediately hailed as a new Evangel, was translated into all European languages, and won for its author the highest honors, also an offer from Catherine of Russia (which Beccaria, wiser than Descartes, used only in order to obtain a professorship in his native Milan): it was put on the Index, which in those revolutionary days increased its glory, and it shortly moved Leopold II of Tuscany to abolish the death penalty. It was the Calas affair which aroused Beccaria and Verri—another thread going back to France.

Beccaria proposed the decimal system to the government of Milan in 1780, but the scheme was refused, largely for financial reasons. Cantù, *Beccaria*, p. 142.

⁸⁶ *Poetes et Romanciers de l'Italie, I, Manzoni*, Rev. Deux Mondes, Sept. 1834, p. 575.

⁸⁷ The perusal of bits incorporated in his correspondence rather inclines the writer to differ from Beccaria's friend.

⁸⁸ The grandfather in less than three months!

il romanzo storico. L'avo si meravigliava che la Colonna Infame fosse lasciata sussistere nel bel mezzo di Milano; il nipote scrisse la *Storia della Colonna Infame*."⁸⁹

Graf makes these comparisons in a foot-note and does not pursue the subject further. More important points than several of those mentioned are: the French influences experienced by both men in youth; their interest in two periodicals so similar in scope as the *Caffè* and *Conciliatore* (and related to each other much as were the men), and their attitude towards rules, one might almost say, towards romanticism.

The direct allusions of Manzoni to Beccaria are not numerous, they may be gleaned mostly from the *Opere inedite e rare*, edited by Bonghi. There are two rather lengthy defences of Beccaria's position on points connected with political economy,⁹⁰ and a briefer but more interesting comment on Marmontel, *Elémens de Littérature*. Marmontel says: "*Diffus*. Ce mot exprime un défaut du style, et le défaut contraire à la précision. *Proluxe* est le contraire de *Pressé*," etc., etc. And Manzoni: "Per tutte queste definizioni di stile, vedi *Dello Stile* di Beccaria."⁹¹

Cristoforo Fabris in his *Memoire manzoniane* gives an imaginary *Serata in Casa Manzoni*, in which Manzoni tells the story of the composition of the *Delitti e Pene*. He says that he has made up this conversation from bits which he had heard and remembered.⁹² This would seem to prove that Manzoni liked to talk about his grandfather. That his thoughts had a trend towards Beccaria and his school is evident in the choice of subject and incidents of the *Promessi Sposi*, and the *Storia della Colonna Infame* is based on Pietro Verri *Osservazioni sulla tortura*. It is interesting, in this connection, to remember that it was Verri who urged, if he did not inspire, the writing of the treatise *Dei delitti e delle pene*.⁹³

⁸⁹ Graf, *Foscolo, Manzoni, Leopardi*, Torino, 1914, ch. *il Romanticismo del Manzoni*, pp. 159/60.

⁹⁰ *Opere inedite e rare*, II, pp. 138/9, 144.

⁹¹ *Id.*, p. 421.

⁹² *Memorie manzoniane*, pp. 96/7.

⁹³ Verri was the benefactor, the nearest friend, later the bitter enemy of Beccaria. Cf. Camillo Ugioni, *Letteratura italiana della seconda metà del secolo XVIII*, chapters on the two men, also that on A. Verri: Bouvy, *Le comte P. Verri, ses idées et son temps*; also Lomenaco, *Vita degli eccellenti Italiani*, 1803, vol. III, Beccaria.

One Italian investigator, Alessandro Paoli, has touched upon this point. He says:

“Dagli scritti del Verri tolse il Manzoni l'argomento e la materia del suo romanzo, dall' esempio e dalle opere del Beccaria apprese che lo scrivere con efficacia è l'effetto del retto sentire.”

He thinks also that Manzoni's determinism is derived from that of the school of the *Caffè*.

“Questà idea delle attinenze causali tra gli avvenimenti umani gli è venuta su dà suoi studj, ed è frutto di quella cultura a cui dappprima si era formato negli esempi famigliari il suo animo, e della quale primo e più efficace promotore in Lombardia era stato P. Verri.”⁹⁴

But beyond all this rather general and diffused influence, it seems to the writer that a special one may be alleged, flowing from a special work and inspiring certain doctrines, or at least contributing greatly to their development. It is evident that the *Ricerche sullo Stile* is most akin to the thought and work of Manzoni, but no comparison has ever been made between the two.

The idea of the *Ricerche* came to Beccaria during a stay in Paris,⁹⁵ and the first brief article was published in *Il Caffè*, I, n. 25, under the title of *Frammento sullo stile*. In this form it was translated, like various articles of the periodical, and published in the *Gazette littéraire*.⁹⁶ In 1770, the article was expanded and published under its full title.⁹⁷ It is a work of real importance, which has been obscured by the labors and reputation of its author in another field. It is primarily a call to *reason*, an attempt to find out and show *why* certain things give pleasure to the mind, there are portions which remind one of Herbert Spencer's essay on the same subject.

Beccaria names in his introduction Condillac and others who “hanno incominciato a ricercar nelle facoltà nostre, nella nostra maniera d'intendere e di sentire, l'origine e le leggi del buongusto, leggi così invariabili come le possa essere l'umana natura,”⁹⁸ il ben

⁹⁴ P. Verri e il Manzoni, *Nuova Ant.*, 1895, p. 672, sq. Paoli holds that the ideas of the *Delitti e pene* were mostly those of Verri, Montesquieu and Helvetius. Voltaire also contributing something, and the great merit of Beccaria was his style.

⁹⁵ Cesare Landry, *Cesare Beccaria, Scritti e lettere inedite*, Milano, 1910, p. 77.

⁹⁶ T. VIII, 2.

⁹⁷ Milano, Galeazzo, 1770.

sapere, cioè il ben sentire le quali, è la più prossima e la più sicura disposizione alla perfetta esecuzione di quelle." . . . There are rules "che, ben lungi di elevare e spingere gl'ingegni, ne circoscrivevano troppo servilmente i confini, e ne rallentavano il libero impeto e la originale energia." Queste regole non erano per lo più che il ridurre a canoni generali le bellezze già combinate dai maestri dell' arte, quando piuttosto dovevano essere osservazioni pure generali sulla maniera con cui essi le avevano combinate,¹⁰⁰ e mentre queste si doveano cavare dal fondo del nostro cuore,¹⁰¹ ricercando a qual combinazioni d'idee, d'immagini, di sentimenti e di sensazioni egli si scuota e si irriti, ed a'qual resti inerte e stupidamente indifferente, si sono piuttosto volute rinvenire nel proporre solamente una parte di queste combinazioni già da' gran maestri esaurite come modello di tutte le altre, senza ricercare ed indicare ciò che tanto varie e disparate maniere di dilettae, che l'esperienza ci additava, potessero avere di comune per produrre sugli animi degli spettatori quel sempre medesimo fremito intorno di piacere soavissimo ed insaziabile. Ecco ciò che ho tentato di fare intorno allo Stile."¹⁰²

If he cannot do all this, he still has the confident hope of "essere riuscito di poter avviare gl' ingegni degli Italiani, che sono stati i maestri e gli esecutori delle belle arti di Europa, a considerarne la filosofia, onde gli innocenti et incolpabili piaceri dell' intelletto divengano un oggetto di scienza e d'istituzione, come formanti un non disprezzabile diramazione dell' utilità comune, ed ancora della virtù

⁹⁸ "Intorno alle regole in generale, ecco quali furono . . . le principali proposizioni romantiche. Ogni regola, per esser ricevuta da uomini, debbe avere la sua ragione nella natura della mente umana." *Lettera sul Romanticismo*, ed. Sforza, p. 54. "Poichè ogni legge che non risulti dalla natura stessa dell' arte, che non sia richiesta dalla costituzione del soggetto, altererà necessariamente l'organizzazione del soggetto medesimo." *Materiali estetici*, Op. III, p. 402.

⁹⁹ "Des génies du premier ordre ont travaillé dans ce système: admirons-les doublement d'avoir su produire de si rares beautés au milieu de tant d'entraves. . . . Les faux événemens ont produit en partie les faux sentimens, et ceux-ci, à force d'être répétés, ont fini par être réduits en maximes. C'est ainsi que s'est formé ce code de morale théâtrale, opposé si souvent au bon sens et à la morale véritable." Op. III, p. 360.

¹⁰⁰ The early part of the preface to *Carmagnola* repeats this doctrine, as does the *Lettre à Chauvet*, Op. III, p. 371: "C'est de la pratique qu'on les (= règles) a toujours prises."

¹⁰¹ "Je suis plus que jamais de votre avis sur la poésie: il faut qu'elle soit tirée du fond du cœur." Op. IV, I, p. 309.—It is singular that Manzoni calls it Fauriel's opinion, but both had been reading Beccaria!

¹⁰² Quoted from Silvestri's ed. *Ricerche*, Milano, 1809, pp. IX, X.

umana, che dal sentimento prende l'origine sua, i suoi motivi e i suoi precetti." ¹⁰³

Such words as these excited the admiration of Mme. de Staël, and added support to her doctrine of "l'utilité"—not hers alone, of course. In the *Littérature*, in which she already shows a preference for the productions of the North (which she as yet knew but slightly) ¹⁰⁴ and a feeling that amounts almost to contempt for Italy, she specifically excepts Beccaria with a very few others, as having "l'utilité pour but, ce qui est nécessaire pour donner aux pensées une force réelle." ¹⁰⁵

Manzoni was also an upholder of the doctrine of the "useful": L'arte prammatica si trova presso tutti i popoli civilizzati: essa è considerata da alcuni come un mezzo potente di miglioramento, da altri come un mezzo potente di corruttela, da nessuna come una cosa indifferente. . . . Queste ultime riflessioni conducono a una questione più volte discussa, ora quasi dimenticata, ma credo tutt'altro che sciolta ed è: se la poesia drammatica sia utile o dannosa." ¹⁰⁶ And in the *Lettera sul Romanticismo*: "La parte morale dei classici è essenzialmente falsa . . . ora la parte morale . . . è la più importante. . . . Il principio, di necessità tanto più determinato, quanto più esteso, mi sembra poter esser questo: Che la poesia, e la letteratura in genere debba proporsi l'utile per iscopo, il vero per soggetto, e l'interessante per mezzo." ¹⁰⁷

As we have seen, in the letter inaugurating his correspondence with Fauriel, Manzoni indicates that he is reading "Beccaria." Fauriel also, since Manzoni asks if he will be inconvenienced by loaning him the book. Towards the close of the *Lettre à Chauvet* he uses a comparison the significance of which has escaped the observation of critics. In admitting that the innovators have not yet gained the public suffrage he says: L'erreur ne se laisse nulle part,

¹⁰³ Id., pp. XIII, XIV.

¹⁰⁴ In 1800 she was studying German "avec résignation," as she writes Meister. (*Correspondance avec Meister*, p. 168.)

¹⁰⁵ *De la littérature*, p. 251.

¹⁰⁶ *Op.* III, p. 106 (Preface to *Carmagnola*).

¹⁰⁷ *Scritti Postumi*, ed. Sforza, p. 20. Bonghi, *Op. inedite e rare*, p. X, quotes an English traveler, whose book containing the interview with Manzoni was printed privately, as "half in earnest, avowing it to be his creed that as society became more enlightened, it could tolerate no such thing as literature considered merely as a work of art." The writer has been unable to trace this book.

et dans aucun genre, détruire en un jour. La torture a duré longtemps après l'immortel traité des délits et des peines."

Thus we have the two evidences, at the beginning and at the end of this phase of his work, that the memory of his grandfather's work was always in the background of Manzoni's mental life. Only the two Italian writers cited have made reference to this influence; Saint-Beuve and his school have wished to find the approach to Manzoni thru Fauriel. The threads are twined and intertwined, we no longer get the single red cord which leads to the secret bower, but in this case the one that underlies the others may yet be distinguished. We cannot say that Manzoni, grandson of a man who had made no literary contribution would not have done so himself, but we may surely say that it would not have been quite the same contribution.

MARY VANCE YOUNG

MOUNT HOLYOKE COLLEGE

DEUX POEMES DE PEYRE CATHALA

V.—BERTRAN DEL POGET

(Continued from page 227)

CONTENTONS-NOUS donc de ce qui nous intéresse directement dans le cadre étroit où nous place l'étude d'un poème de Peyre Cathala. Dans ce cadre, ce que nous savons de Guillem Auger nous suffit amplement. Il est évident que Guillem reçut le poème de son admirateur vers 1236, au moment où il était victorieux et où son triomphe était consacré par le retour du Venaissin à ses aspirations d'indépendance et à son seigneur légitime, c'est-à-dire, à Raimon VII.

Cette conclusion est confirmée par la carrière de Bertran del Poget dont il faut dire un mot. Bertran a bien trouvé un biographe dont les quelques lignes nous sont parvenues. Mais ce biographe ne nous apprend qu'une chose, c'est que le troubadour était "un noble châtelain de Provence, de Puget-Théniers" *us gentils castellans de Proensa, de Teunes*. Il ajoute qu'il fat "vaillant chevalier, généreux, bon guerrier, et qu'il composa de bonnes chansons et de bons sirventés." Ces derniers renseignements sont bien vagues, et pas mal de troubadours, entre autres Garin d'Apchier, se sont vu décerner des éloges presque semblables. Mais la mention de *Guillem Augier* dans un de ses sirventés le place, à côté de Peyre Cathala, au nombre des protégés ou des compagnons d'armes de ce seigneur du Venaissin. Le mot *lai*, qu'il emploie en envoyant son sirventés à Guillem prend un sens précis. Le poème, s'il est parti de Puget-Théniers, a dû traverser presque toute la Provence, de l'est à l'ouest, pour parvenir à son adresse. Et ce poème est de la même date que celui de Cathala, c'est-à-dire de 1230-1236, puisque Bertran trace de Guillem Augier un portrait presque littéralement semblable à celui de son confrère, sans qu'on puisse pourtant parler d'imitation. Or, cette date de 1230-1236 est lumineusement confirmée par l'histoire. Bertran del Poget paraît, en effet, deux fois dans les chartes de la Provence.

(1222)—La première fois, en septembre 1222, il est à Brignolles, aux côtés du comte de Provence, Raimon Bérenger IV (1209-1245), son suzerain. Le comte accorde divers privilèges aux familles nobles de la ville, mais obtient, en échange, le consulat que ces nobles familles exerçaient dans la petite cité. (Papon, *Histoire de Provence*, III, p. 540 et preuves, p. viii.) Bertran donne son assentiment à cette combinaison; il est mandaté, pour cela par le comte lui-même et semble faire partie de sa cour: "Ut omnia prodicta fideliter attendantur, nos, R[aimundus] Berengarius, comes Provinciae, hoc juramus, et mandato nostro, D[omi]na Lombardia (Beatrix de Savoie, femme du comte), Raimundus Gaucelini, *Bertrandus de Pugeto*, Albeta et Guillelmus de Cottiniaco." Parmi les nobles de Brignolles qui renoncent à leur consulat se trouve un *Raimundus Augerius*. Est-il parent de Guillem? La parenté expliquerait les relations poétiques de Guillem et de Bertran.

Cette charte, connue depuis le XVIII^e siècle, n'avait pourtant pas été signalée jusqu'ici par les provençalistes. Il est vrai qu'elle peut laisser quelques doutes sur l'identification de *Bertrandus de Pugeto*. Les localités du nom de Puget étaient assez nombreuses en Provence, et justement celle de Puget-Ville (canton de Cuers) était à quatre ou cinq lieues de Brignolles, tandis que Puget-Théniers en était quatre ou cinq fois plus éloigné.

(1227)—Mais l'identification est sûre, néanmoins, parce que Puget-Ville n'a jamais eu de seigneurs particuliers. D'ailleurs, une seconde charte, qui est du 24 juillet 1227, enlève tous les doutes possibles. Cette seconde charte est rédigée à Grasse dans les mêmes conditions que la première. La ville de Grasse, comme celle de Brignolles cinq ans auparavant, renonce à son consulat, dont elle était pourtant très jalouse, en faveur du comte de Provence, et en échange d'importantes franchises (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, p. iij). Il semble que l'acte de Brignolles n'avait été qu'une pâle préface hésitante de celui de Grasse. A Brignolles, en effet, les garants étaient peu nombreux, et, à part Guillaume de Cottignac, qui était ministre du comte, de noblesse secondaire et obscure. A Grasse, les plus hauts seigneurs de la province s'associent à l'acte du souverain; en tête se trouvent l'illustre Blacatz, le modèle des chevaliers, et le fougueux Boniface de Castellane; "Actum Grassae,

in podio-juxta ecclesiam ante canonicam. Blacassii, Bonifacius de Castellana, Guillelmus de Signâ de Evenâ, Fulco de Pontevès, Ferandus de Toramenâ, Auselmus Bertrandus de Misano, Audebertus de Sclapono, *Bertrandus de Pugeto*, Guillelmus de Mosteriis”

Guillem Augier n’y est pas, et son absence serait difficilement explicable s’il était de Grasse comme le voudrait Nostredame. En tout cas, nous n’avons plus à hésiter sur l’identification de Bertran del Poget. Cette fois, le Puget le plus voisin et celui qui a un seigneur *Bertrandus* est bien Puget-Théniers.

Mais Grasse n’avait renoncé à son consulat que pour être relevée d’une excommunication prononcée par l’Eglise et pour ne pas se mettre en révolte ouverte contre l’empereur, qui, par un édit du mois d’octobre précédent (Papon, II, p. 1), daté de Fogia (Pouille), avait supprimé tous les consulats de Provence. Cette politique de l’empereur et du comte était simplement insensée. Elle continua bien, l’année suivante, par la soumission de Nice, où deux partis se déchiraient; elle échoua, nous l’avons vu, à Marseille, qui se donna au comte de Toulouse, et attira à elle Tarascon, puis l’héroïque Avignon.

(1230)—Raimon Béranger faillit aller à sa propre ruine et perdre tout son comté. La noblesse, jalouse, ayant à sa tête toute la puissante maison du Baus, se révolta en ne céda plus tard (1233) que devant l’intervention et les concessions de l’empereur. Or, cette révolte doit être signalée ici. Il est visible, en effet, que Bertran del Poget, que nous avons vu applaudir, ou au moins souscrire à la politique du comte à Brignolles en 1222, et à Grasse, en 1227, passa, en 1230, dans le camp opposé. Le fait est absolument certain, puisque, dans son sirventès, Bertan félicite Guillem Augier d’avoir *sobratz et vencutz els enemics*, d’avoir ainsi acquis tout mérite (*on pretz s’es clutz*), et d’être “ franc et affectionné pour ses amis.” Nous savons maintenant quels sont ces amis et ces ennemis: les amis sont autour du comte de Toulouse, à Tarascon et à Marseille; les ennemis sont autour du Comte de Provence et de l’Eglise, dans l’aristocratique ville d’Arles.

Ainsi, le poème de Bertran del Poget est bien postérieur à 1230, et il est raisonnable de le placer vers 1235-1236, au moment où les victoires de Guillem Augier sont encore récentes, mais où pourtant,

à cause de sa haute situation de chancelier du Venaissin, Augier peut être *larçx et adregs ses vilaniä*, "dépenser et donner tout ce qu'il a sans regret" (*semblan dolen*), quoiqu'il ne soit pas fort riche (*tant pauc matria*). Adopter une date postérieure, par exemple, celle de 1265 que propose Papon (Hist. de Provence, III, pp. 444-445), serait dangereux; non seulement le sens des poèmes s'y opposerait, mais, puisque les chartes où Bertrandus de Pugeto est nommé sont de 1222 et de 1227, il ne faut pas s'éloigner de ces dates mêmes plus que les textes ne le permettent.

VI.—PEYRE CATHALA RESTE UN INCONNU

Et voilà aussi l'époque et la date où florissait Peyre Cathala. Celui-ci, malheureusement, ne nous a pas laissé clairement son nom dans les chartes. Il y eut sûrement une famille Cathalan à Toulouse et Chabaneau a vraisemblablement raison quand il suppose (*Biographies*, index) que le troubadour *Arnaud Catalan*, qui chanta du temps de Raimon VI, après 1204, était un de ses membres. Mais *Peyre*, qui envoie ses poèmes à Guillem Auger en Venaissin, ne semble pas être de la même ligne. Un petit détail le rejetterait même sur les rives de la Méditerranée. Aux vers 31-32 du premier poème, Peyre Cathala se révèle lui-même amoureux de la pêche maritime. "Il veut faire, dit-il, comme le bon pêcheur, qui attend patiemment jusqu'à ce qu'il retire des poissons de la mer." Ce ne sont pas seulement les pêcheurs maritimes qui sont des modèles de patience. Les pêcheurs de nos rivières ont, au moins aujourd'hui, une patience beaucoup plus légendaire. Il est donc probable que si Peyre Cathala n'a pas songé à la patience des pêcheurs de la Garonne, mais bien à celle des pêcheurs de Marseille, c'est qu'il voyait à l'œuvre ces derniers pêcheurs. Le détail est de très minime importance, sans doute, d'autant plus que le poète peut avoir puisé cette comparaison, comme d'autres, dans des poèmes ou récits antérieurs, mais il me semble, malgré tout, avoir son prix dans la circonstance, parce que le nom de *Cathala* ou *Catalan* est si commun dans les chartes qu'on le trouve dans toutes les régions du Midi. Il est particulièrement fréquent dans les parages de Narbonne et de Béziers, mais on le retrouve à Arles, à Marseille. Il sera même porté, au quinzième siècle, par un prince de Morraço. Je n'ai pas

besoin de rappeler que Mila y Fontanals voulait qu'il fût le privilège exclusif de la Catalogne, et M. Massó Torrents signale dans la *Bibliografia*, des Luiz Cathala qui ont été poètes à Valence ou à Barcelone au XIV^e siècle.

A l'époque de Guillem Auger, en 1228, je trouve un *G. Catalanus* parmi les conseillers de la ville d'Arles. Le 18 octobre de cette année-là, en effet, Arles s'allie contre Marseille à Raimon Bérenger (Papon, *Hist. de Provence*, II, p. lv); le conseil de la ville, de concert avec l'archevêque et le podestat, scelle l'alliance, et la charte se termine par ces mots: "Haec sunt nomina consiliarium comuniſ Arelatensis, Petrus Hugo. . . ." Après cinquante-quatre noms, vient, cinquante-cinquième sur quatre-vingt cinq, *G. Catalanus*. Il est difficile de deviner dans quel ordre ont été inscrite ces nombreux conseillers. S'ils l'ont été par rang d'âge, on peut donner, au plus quarante ans à *G. Catalan*, et cet âge se concilierait très bien avec celui d'un poète qui, quelques années après se mettrait en relations avec Guillem Auger. *G. Catalan* ne serait certainement pas ce poète, mais un de ses frères ou de ses parents pourrait l'être. Il est vrai que la politique paraît s'y opposer, puisque Arles et Guillem Auger sont dans des camps ennemis. L'objection n'est forte: Arles se révoltera bientôt contre son archevêque, le chassera de ses murs, après avoir usurpé sur lui (Papon, II, preuves, p. ixxvij) pas mal de privilèges, entre autres, celui de nommer ses consuls. Et Arles était sur la mer ou s'y croyait sincèrement à cause de sa flotte, qui parcourait encore la Méditerranée: c'est ce qui la faisait la rivale de Marseille et l'alliée de Gênes.

Je ne serais donc pas surpris si l'on découvrait un jour que Peyre Cathala était un arlésien, ou au moins un provençal de bonne souche comme les poèmes semblent le demander. Peyre Cathala, en effet, n'est pas loin de Guillem Auger quand il écrit. Contrairement à Bertran del Poget, qui envoie son chant "au loin" (*lai*) il semble être près de lui et le voir:

N'enaur y lo sire Guillem Auger
Que fa honor e valor on que sia.

Il le trouve entouré de chevaliers parfaits (*affinats*) et le voit "tenir haut son rang parmi les plus grands." Ce titre de *sire* qu'il lui décerne, au lieu de celui de *senher*, est aussi un mot rare qu'on

a d'abord, semble-t-il employé en Provence. Raynouard ne le signale que dans P. Cardinal, et dans deux poèmes où il est question de la France: *Qui es trachers ni fals sera mayestre e sire*. Il s'agit des terres de Gui II d'Auvergne que vient d'envahir Gui de Dampierre, seigneur (*sire*) de Bourbon, *Esser cyre d'anjous ni de Tors*. (*Lexique roman*, V, p. 202). Or, la dernière expression a été écrite par Cardinal à Marseille.

Cependant, il ne m'échappe pas que, du moment que Guillem Auger est un capitaine au service de Raimon VII, il peut être célébré par un compagnon de ce comte venu avec lui en Provence ou en Venaissin. Raimon VII, selon l'usage, s'était fait escorter par une foule de seigneurs, même du plus haut rang, des jurisconsultes et même des poètes. Dans l'assemblée qui lui donna Marseille, le 7 novembre 1230, je remarque les noms du comte de Radez et d'Olivier de Thermes, puis ceux de Pons Astoaudi et de Pierre Martin, jurisconsultes, enfin celui de Petrus de Podio (alias *Peire* [Cardinal] *del Poi*?).

Ainsi, Peyre Cathala peut être venu en Provence avec le comte et y demeurer quelque temps ou même s'y fixer. Or, parmi les chevaliers qui ont dû être enchantés des succès de Raimon VII, on peut ranger un *Petrus Cathalani*, vassal et compagnon de Guillaume de Pierrepertuse, vicomte de Fenouillet, au sud du Carcassès, sur les confins du Roussillon. Ces deux seigneurs avaient dû subir le joug de Simon de Montfort en 1217 (D. Vaissète, VIII, col. 257), et Guillaume de Pierrepertuse avait même été nommé sénéchal de Carcassonne par l'envahisseur. Mais dès 1226, les choses avaient changé et Guillaume de Pierrepertuse était rentré dans le giron des siens. Dépouillé par Louis VIII il revenait dans ses terres et, en 1242, il prêtera hommage à son seigneur légitime, le vicomte de Narbonne, qui soutiendra énergiquement Raimon VII dans sa révolte contre la France. Or, parmi les témoins de cet hommage, se trouve de nouveau un chevalier *Cathalan* (Roger) qui est vraisemblablement de la famille de celui de 1217. (D. Vaissète, VIII, col. 414-415.)

Ainsi, un chevalier du Fenouillet, appelé réellement *Peyre Cathala* est attesté en 1217. Il suffirait qu'il fût jeune à cette époque et qu'il eût accompagné Raimon VII en Provence treize ans après pour

qu'on pût se demander s'il n'était point notre poète. Il lui manquerait la naissance sur le bord de la mer ; mais le Fenouillet n'est pas loin de la côte méditerranéenne.

VII.—REMARQUES D'ORDRE LITTÉRAIRE

Passons à quelques remarques littéraires que comportent les deux poèmes de Peyre Cathala. Ces remarques confirmeront d'abord l'impression favorable que la première pièce avait produite à M. Anglade. Elles confirmeront ensuite les dates que nous avons établies, et rangeront le nouveau troubadour dans une école singulière, un instant féconde, et à laquelle Peire Cardinal, qui était alors à Marseille, n'est pas resté étranger.

M. Anglade, nous l'avons vu, a regretté que le premier poème ne soit pas de Peire Vidal, parce qu'il "est d'un vrai poète." Pour justifier ce jugement, il énumère les comparaisons que la pièce contient :

"On remarquera le nombre inusité de comparaisons qui apparaissent dans cette pièce : l'homme insouciant (str. I), le cygne (str. II), l'alouette, (*ibid.*), la calandre (str. III), la roue du moulin (*ibid.*), le bon pêcheur (*ibid.*), le basilic (str. IV), le soleil (*ibid.*), le soldat vainqueur (str. V), le Christ pardonnant au larron (str. V), les laboureurs (*ibid.*) ; en tout onze comparaisons. Il y a là un artifice de style qui paraît avoir été mis à la mode par Rigaud de Barbézieux et ses imitateurs ; mais même chez le troubadour saintongeais, on ne trouve pas, dans la même pièce, une pareille abondance."

Je n'ajouterai rien qu'un trait à cette appréciation flatteuse et si exacte. Peyre Cathala n'est pas seulement un disciple abondant et adroit de Rigaud de Barbézieux. Il s'est aussi inspiré de Peyrol :

Atressi co'l signes fai
 Quan dey murir, chan.
 Quar sai que plus gen murray,
 Et ab mens d'afan.
 Qu'Amors m'a tengut en sos latz,
 E maynts trebalhs n'ai sufertatz ;
 Mas pe'l mal qu'aoras m'en ve,
 Conose qu'ancmai non amiey re.
 (Leçon de Raynouard, *Choix*, III, 271, *cobla* I.)

“Comme fait le cygne,—quand je dois mourir, je chante :—car je sais que je mourrai plus noblement—et avec moins d’angoisse,—puisque Amour m’a tenu dans ses lacs—et j’en ai souffert maints tourments.—Mais, par le mal qui maintenant m’en vient,—je connais que jamais je n’ai rien aimé.”

M. Anglade rappelle ensuite que la légende de la calandre se trouve dans un *bestiaire* provençal : “Si l’ calandri porta hom denan I malaute et hom lo geta sul lieg, e lo calandri gara lo malaute en la cara, senhal es de guerir; e si l’ gira la coa, es senhal de mort.” (Appel, *Prov. Chrest.* 3e édit. page 202.) “Si l’un porte la calandre devant un malade, et qu’on la jette sur le lit, si la calandre regarde le malade au visage, c’est signe de guérison; mais si elle lui tourne la queue, c’est présage de mort.”

M. Anglade ne dit rien de la légende, plus extravagante, du basilic, dont le regard tuait, mais un contemporain de Peyre Cathala, Aymeric de Péguilhan, la répète d’une manière fort heureuse :

Co l’ basilisc qu’ab joy s’anet aucir
Quant el miral se remiret e’s vi . . .

“Comme le basilic qui, avec joie, alla se teur—quand il se vit et se contempla dans le miroir. . . .”

M. Anglade remarque enfin que le poème est absolument original dans la construction de la cobla : “Le campas de cette pièce est assez rare, et Maus (*Peire Cardenals Strophensbau*, no. 553) n’en cite que trois exemples, dont aucun, d’ailleurs, n’est exactement le même que celui-ci. L’aube religieuse de Guilhem d’Autpoul est la pièce qui s’en rapproche le plus; seulement elle est en *coblas unissonans*, tandis que notre chanson est en *coblas capeudadas*.

Le second poème fait autant d’honneur à Peyre Cathala que le premier. Sans doute il est écrit dans un genre précieux et recherche des recontres de mots que nous réprouvons, mais nous verrons à quelle influence venue de très haut il a obéi. Et, ce défaut mis à part, la pièce est d’une inspiration des plus élevées et des plus franches. Chaque strophe peint un sentiment délicat. Dans la première, le poète est heureux de se consumer lentement aux feux de l’amour, parce qu’il brûle pour la plus aimable des femmes (*la gencer*). Dans la seconde, il accepte avec résignation, sinon avec joie, la prison où sa dame l’a enfermé. Dans la troisième il bénit

les premiers témoignages d'amour qu'il reçoit, parce qu'ils lui dictent des chants d'allégresse. A la quatrième, il proclame l'excellence de la servitude et de l'espérance en amour, et se fait gloire de ne pas réclamer de rançon. Dans la cinquième, en nouveau disciple heureux de Peyrol, il sent que le secret pour être aimé, c'est d'aimer profondément soi-même, et que l'amor vrai rend aimables jusqu'aux orgeueilleux. Enfin, à la sixième, le chevalier ainsi rendu parfait par l'amour et le mérite qu'il demande, s'incarne délicatement dans ce *Guillem Auger* dont nous connaissons la carrière et dont le poète trace, en neuf vers, un portrait achevé.

Et cette admirable et savante progression est rendue sensible et claire par de fins des strophes toutes bien frappées dans des vers limpides, ou dans des comparaisons qui, comme celle des *joueurs*, à la *cobla II*, font une image qui se prolonge doucement dans l'esprit et prend soudain pour nous la vie, la force et la couleur d'un tableau de Watteau ou même de Rembrandt.

Et cette ascension hâletante vers *Pretz* et *Valor* est celle d'une âme haute et saine, très optimiste que nous n'attendions pas dans les heures troublées et tristes où a vécu le poète. Bertran del Poget arrive, comme Peyre Cathala, à tracer de Guillem Augier un portrait frappant et admirable, mais par un chemin tout différent : tandis que Cathala voit son héros entouré d'émules au milieu desquels il se distingue comme une "fleur même de la Chevalerie," sans les humilier, Bertrand maudit l'avarice et la lâcheté des autres seigneurs, et ne décerne le prix de la valeur à son héros qu'en affirmant qu'il ne s'en trouve plus ailleurs. Guillem Augier n'est pas le meilleur parmi de brillants chevaliers : il est l'unique baron en qui le mérite a trouvé un dernier refuge (*on pretz s'es clutz*).

A l'élévation morale et à l'art de résumer un développement dans un vers final, simple, sonore et clair, se joint encore la rareté de la strophe. Cette strophe de neuf vers de dix syllables n'est pourtant pas unique comme celle du premier poème. Mais elle paraît avoir eu une vogue restreinte à la région de la Provence propre et de Montpellier, et ne se trouve guère dans les poèmes des XII^e et XIII^e siècles avant l'époque où nous sommes arrivés. On la découvre d'abord dans Gaucelm Faidit : *Tant ai sufert longamen gran afan* (Raynouard, *Choix*, III, 288) et dans Pons de la Garda : *D'un sirventes a far ai gran talen* (Raynouard, *Choix*, IV, 278) ; puis on

la voit reparaître dans Cardinal, mais verse 1245-1250, c'est-à-dire après le chant de Cathala: *Totz lo mons es vestitz et abrazatz*; et dès lors elle se répand même dans la tenson. Il faut signaler en 1253; le débat que nous reverrons plus loin d'En Engles avec un inconnu, puis celui que En Guillem et En Peire eurent à Montpellier vers 1272 sur des troubles de cette ville (P. Meyer, *Derniers Troubadours de la Provence*). Cependant, dans tous ces poèmes, les *coblas* sont *unissonans*, tandis que Peyre Cathala, chantant une sorte de *descort*, ne se sert des mêmes rimes que pendant deux strophes et les change ainsi trois fois dans le poème.

Mais le style nous paraît aujourd'hui insensé. Cathala recherche, même au détriment de la clarté, des rapprochements de mots commençant par la même lettre ou appartenant à la même famille: *E si fos forts, morts moren. . . . Per qu'es vida viven, vius m'accouart*, etc.

Ce style, qui nous paraît une folie, et qui heureusement est assez rare dans la poésie provençale, venait d'infecter la poésie de la langue d'oïl avec Gautier de Coincy (1177-1236). Or, l'œuvre immense de Gautier se répandit avec une rapidité foudroyante dans les écoles de toute la chrétienté: vers 1245-1250, Bertran Carbonel, n'osant pas désigner par son nom l'archidiacre de Marseille qu'il attaquait avec violence, et qui s'appelait *Pons I. Coinssi*, eut recours aux initiales P.I.C. et affirma qu'il n'y avait pas un écolier (*latinier*), non seulement à Paris, mais même à Pavie et à Gaète (Salerno) qui ne sût interpréter ce règle et y retrouver, par conséquent, le nom de *Coinssi*, c'est-à-dire l'homonyme de Gautier de Coincy.

Or, voici quelques vers, d'ailleurs bien connus, du moine de Saint Médard de Soissons; ils suffisent pour caractériser sa manière. Le poète, en commençant le récit des *Miracles Nostre Dame*, entonne son prologue par un chant lyrique:

Pour la Pucelle en chantant me deport
 Qui tous despors et toute joie apporte.
 Mont se deporta en deportant deport
 En li porter honneur qui se deporta.
 Ne peut venir n'arriver a droit port
 Qui ne la sert et honneur ne li porte;
 Car c'est li pons et la planche et la porte
 De paradis ou sont tuit li deport.

.

En tes sains flans le Roi des rois portas ;
 En tes daus flans tous depors aportas.
 Tu aportas la deportant portée
 Qui au monde a toute joie aportée.

Histoire littéraire de la France, t. xix, p. 845.

Voici encore quelques vers de lui tirés de *Sainte Leocade*:

En chardonai doçor n'a point,
 Que chardonax com chardon point . . .
 Si chardonai tot eschardonnent . . .
 Chardonai sont en chardon né.

Ibid., t. xvi, p. 226.

Or, on croirait que ces jeux de mots naïfs excitèrent dès leur apparition, l'émulation du troubadour Peire Cardinal, qui s'appelait justement *Chardonai*. Celui-ci, avec sa fougue ordinaire, introduisit une *cobla* plus insensée encore que celles de Gautier dans un de ses sirventés contre les troubadours qui célébraient l'amour d'une manière conventionnelle et factice. C'est la *cobla* V du chant :
Ar mi puese ieu lanzar d'amor:

V Pauc pretz prim prec de prezador.
 Quant cre qu'el cuya convertir,
 Vir vos vil voler sa valor,
 Don Dreitz deu dar dan al partir.
 Si sec son sen salvatge,
 Seu l'es lo larcx laus lagz lunhatz.
 Pus pretz lauzables que lauzatz.
 Trop ten estreg ostage
 Dreitz drutz de' dart d'amor nafratz
 Pus pauc pretz pus pretz es compratz.

Je traduis cette fantaisie d'un grand poète, mais comme je la comprend, et sans en garantir le sens, parce que la *cobla* est un vrai logogriphe, et je soupçonne Cardinal de s'être moqué de ses auditeurs :

Je prise peu la prière subtile d'un suppliant
 Quand il croit qu'il peut convertir (obtenir ce qu'il demande)
 Il transforme sa valeur en insolence,
 D'où il est juste qu'il en supporte la peine à la fin.
 S'il a suivi son tempérament sauvage,

La louange généreuse s'est vite éloignée (de sa prière)
 Je prise plus ceux qui méritent des éloges que ceux qui les reçoivent.
 Il se tient dans un domaine trop étroit
 L'amant loyal blessé par le dard de l'amour.
 Je prise d'autant moins le mérite que ce mérite est acheté.

Nous ne savons pas quelle est la date où parut ce singulier pamphlet; il est probablement de la jeunesse de Cardinal, c'est-à-dire des toutes premières années du XIII^e siècle (1200-1204):

Mais vingt ans après, en 1224, le spirituel satirique revint à la charge dans un poème où il ridiculisa la cour de Savaric du Mauléon, sénéchal du Poitou pour le jeune Henri III d'Angleterre. Savaric n'opposait pas une résistance sérieuse aux entreprises du fils du roi de France, le futur Louis VIII, qui avait envahi le pays de Chouars (en Gâtine), et Cardinal lui disait crûment qu'il manquait de loyauté, puis ajoutait:

II Cort cug qu'ieu sai qu'es corta de largueza,
 Ab cortz servirs, ab cortz dos, ab cortz bes,
 Ab cort' amor et ab corta franqueza,
 Ab cortz perdos et ab cortas merces;
 Cortz es ab corta cortezia,
 Et ab corta douça paria;
 E, quar son cort li joy e li plazer
 Per aquo deu lo nom de cort aver.

III Mas ieu quier cort que's descort ab cruzeza,
 E que s'acort ab tatz fis faitz cortes,
 E qu'en plan pueg pueg per fina proeza,
 E, quant que cost, so sia son conques.
 E cort de mil amicx amia,
 On fals ni fragz non afadia,
 Cort on s'acort la valors ab voler,
 E'l gaug ab dreg, e'l donar ab dever.

V Que fan l'enfan d'aquella gen engleza
 Qu'avan non van guerreyar ab Frances?
 Mal antalan de la terr' engolmeza:
 Tiran iran conquistar Gastines!
 Ben sai que lai, en Normandia,
 Dechai e chai lur senhoria,

Quar los guarzos vezon en patz sezer :
Anctos es tos que trop pert per tener.

(Raynouard, *Lexique roman*, t. I, p. 451.)

- II Je crois qu'une cour que je connais est courte de largesse,
Avec de courts services, de courts dons et de courts biens,
Avec un amour court et une courte liberté,
Avec de courts pardons et une courte merci.
C'est une cour de courte courtoisie,
Et de courte douce pairie.
Et, puisque les joies et les plaisirs y sont courts,
Elle doit bien avoir pour cela le nom de cour.
- III Mais moi, je réclame une cour qui s'éloigne de grossièreté,
Qui s'accorde avec toutes les actions délicats et courtoises,
Et qui s'élève, par pure prouesse, sur une pente douce,
De façon que, quoi qu'il en coûte, je sois conquis par elle.
Une cour qui soit l'amie de milliers d'amis,
Où ni traître ni criminel ne vous répugne,
Une cour où la valeur s'accorde avec le vouloir,
Les joies avec le droit, et la générosité avec le devoir.
- V Que font les enfants de cette nation anglaise
Qui ne vont pas en avant guerroyer contre les Français ?
Ils ont peu de souci de la terre angoumoise ;
Ils iront avec peine conquérir le Gâtinais (vicomte de Chou-
ars)
Je sais bien que là-bas, en Normandie,
Déchoit et tombe leur seigneurie,
Car on voit les jeunes guerriers assis en paix :
Digne de honte est l'enfant (Henri III) qui, par avarice,
perd trop (de ses terres).

On le voit, Cathala était bien excusable de tomber dans un genre de langage que n'avait pas dédaigné le plus grand des poètes du temps. Et Cardinal était depuis quelques années (1226) à Marseille même où tous les troubadours l'entouraient avec déférence et se formaient à son école. Il est visible que Cathala fut un de ses disciples. Il ne fut pas le seul : Guillem Fabre, de Narbonne, subit l'influence. On la sent même dans le beau chant *Pus dels majors*

princeps auzem contem, qui est calqué sur le cantique magnifique et très clair de Cardinal: *Caritatz es en tant bel estamen*.

Le poème de Guillem Fabre est de 1245-1258, et non de 1265, comme l'a supposé M. Anglade dans *Deux troubadours narbonnais* (Narbonne, 1905), et Hugues de Saint-Circ, que l'on ne fait guère écrire que jusqu'en 1256, s'en moqua aussitôt. (A. Jeanroy et Salverda de Grave, *Les Poésies d'Uc de Saint-Circ*, pièce xxviii.)

Le goût des jeux de mots n'avait pas encore disparu en 1253. Cette année-là, un certain Engles tensonne avec un poète inconnu. La tenson nous est parvenue mutilée; mais P. Meyer l'a néanmoins publiée dans les *Derniers troubadours de la Provence*. Elle est, d'ailleurs, due à des gens sérieux. L'un des interlocuteurs revient de la cour du roi de Navarre, Thibault Ier, et manifeste l'intention de se rendre auprès de Jaime Ier, roi d'Aragon. Or, ce poème est construit, comme celui de Cathala, sur une *cobla* de neuf vers de dix syllables (voir la *cobla* II, qui est complète) c'est-à-dire a sensiblement le même rythme: et enfin, pour plus de ressemblance encore, contient une strophe où se retrouvent les jeux de Cardinal sur le mot *cort*:

A la cort fui l'autr'ier del rei Navar,
 Qu'est cort corta de tota cortezia,
 Corta de pretz e corta de donar,
 4 E mais corta qu'ieu dir non sabria.

 Et es tant cort c'om ren no'y pot corchar.
 De sa cort corta prec Dieu que m'en par,
 Qu'en sa cort a de totz bes carestia.
 9 Per qu'ieu l'apel cort corta tota via.

Je fus, il y a quelques jours, à la cour du roi de Navarre,
 Qui est une cour courte de toute courtoisie,
 Courte de mérite et courte de générosité,
 4 Et plus courte que je ne saurais dire
 (Le don du roi de Navarre) . . .
 . . . Est si court qu'on ne saurait rien y raccourcir.
 Je prie Dieu qu'il me préserve de sa cour courte;
 Car en sa cour il y a disette de tous biens.
 9 Aussi je l'appelle de toute manière cour courte.

Si l'on remarque que le poème s'occupe aussi des Anglais et des terres que leur prend la cour de France in 1250-1251, c'est-à-dire de l'Agénois et du Quercy, l'analogie est frappante avec le sirventés que Cardinal avait composé en 1224 contre Savaric de Mauléon et les Anglais. Cardinal est donc bien dans le Midi, le chef de l'école singulière où s'enrégimenta Cathala vers 1230-1236, c'est-à-dire au moment où le genre était en pleine floraison.

C. FABRE

LE PUY-EN-VELAY

REVIEWS

Il Fiore e il Detto d'Amore, a cura di E. G. Parodi, con note al testo, glossario, e indici. In appendice a le Opere di Dante edita dalla Società Dantesca Italiana. Firenze, R. Bemporad e Figlio, MCMXXII.

This volume, identical in binding and in size of page with its great predecessor, but of course thinner, and with a different distribution of contents, gives us the text of two poems which have been associated with the name of Dante—the well-known *Fiore*, an adaptation into 232 sonnets of the material of the *Roman de la Rose*, and the less-known *Detto d'Amore*, portions of a longish poem written throughout in couplets with equivocal rimes. The text is accompanied by a short and lucid preface discussing the problem of authorship; by a note on the text discussing manuscript sources, spelling, and readings, whether manifest errors, sure corrections, or suggestions; by a glossary; and by an index of proper and allegorical names. The care spent on establishing the text makes it needless to discuss questions of a textual nature; and I shall therefore confine this note to the point of most general interest—the editor's account of, and attitude towards, the attribution to Dante.

The arguments in favor of this attribution, as Parodi points out, are still pretty much those adduced by Castets, the first editor. They are, in brief, the name Durante; the sonnet alluding to Sigier de Brabant (no. 92); the fact that sonnet 97 is elsewhere connected with the name of Dante; and the authentic sonnet of Dante's (*Opere*, p. 102) which speaks of a poem (allegorically described as a *pulselletta*) addressed to Brunetto or Betto Brunelleschi, and suggests that he give it, for interpretation, to various persons, including "messer Giano," a name which *may* be taken as an Italian form of the French Jean [de Meun], thus bringing us back to the *Roman de la Rose*. It is to be noted that the link between these several pieces of evidence is the equation of names, Durante-Dante, without which the sonnet of Dante would hardly have been drawn into the discussion.

The arguments of the opposition are more general, but not less weighty. One is the facetious and irreverent spirit of the poet, a mood which we do not readily associate with Dante's character as known to us. Another is the difficulty of equating the *Fiore* with the *pulselletta* of the sonnet. The personification of a single canzone is natural and frequent; but would it have occurred to anyone to extend the figure to a lengthy sonnet sequence? Moreover, the allegory of the *Fiore* seems transparent enough, and in no need of exegesis; while if we think of Giano as the clipped form of Torrigiano, there actually was a Florentine poet of that name, some of whose sonnets are still extant. Finally, what are we to think of the language of the poem—on the one hand full of words taken from the French and often barely Italianized, on the other full of Florentine colloquial contractions? Is it a language which we can easily fancy Dante adopting, even for a literary joke? To the weight of this negative evidence must be added the fact that the *Fiore* and the *Detto* seem pretty surely the work

of a single author; and it is equally hard to think of Dante as the author of a poem in equivocal rimes which still comprises 480 lines, and was originally longer.

Parodi's exposition of these conflicting arguments is scrupulously fair; but he allows it to be seen that his own opinion inclines to the negative side. Very plausible is his suggestion (p. xii) that the real author was "one of those Florentines for whom France and Flanders, the field of their activity, had become almost a second country, and French, accordingly, a second language, which in their recollections could somewhat disturb the native purity of the mother tongue." Equally suggestive is the remark (p. xiii) that the style of the poem, as compared with anything of Dante's, seems "more easy, often too easy and flowing, less well-knit, less energetic, and in its happiest moments less in the vein of Dante than in that of Ariosto." There is, at all events, no difficulty in imagining as the author a Florentine with the traits thus sketched, writing the two poems for his own amusement, and perhaps never giving them publicity (the two manuscripts in which they are preserved were originally one, and no other has come to light). The language of the poems—as Parodi, again, points out—is more akin to that of the older poetical manuscripts than to that of the *stil nuovo* circle; and when we consider the large body of anonymous verse by different hands which those manuscripts contain, it seems easier to assume the existence of one more unidentified poet than to ascribe to Dante two poems which we can hardly think of as connected with any known phase of his personality.

Such are Parodi's summary and conclusion; and from them each reader can decide for himself as he likes. In any case, in Parodi's closing words,

"A tradition has been formed, legitimate doubts and convictions remain; and this fact sufficiently justifies our little volume, so far as it aims to form an appendix to the memorable volume in which the Dante scholars of Italy have enduringly celebrated the sixth centenary of the Poet. As there is an *Appendix Virgiliana*, it is right and natural that there should be an *Appendix Dantiana*."

The contention is sound; and the task of supplying that appendix could not have been performed with more scrupulous accuracy and fairness.

CHARLES E. WHITMORE

NORTHAMPTON, MASSACHUSETTS

Doucet, R. *Étude sur le Gouvernement de François I^{er} dans ses rapports avec le Parlement de Paris. I^{re} Partie 1515–1525*. Paris, Champion, 1921.

This volume is of prime importance for students of the literature of the early part of the reign of François Premier. That literature is full of historical allusions, whether it be prose or verse. Many of the writers of that period were intimately connected with the King, with Parliament and with the administration in general.

M. Doucet in his introduction, entitled *Note bibliographique*, reviews all works heretofore published concerning the reign of François I^{er}. He shows to what extent those works are trustworthy, wherein lie their merits and their faults. He also points out what gaps still remain to be filled. On the whole, the author remarks, the period under consideration and in a general way the entire reign of that King have been neglected up to the present time, at least in what concerns internal history, which has been less favored than the wars and diplomacy. This

neglect is doubtless due to the technical difficulties presented by research relating to the sixteenth century.

M. Doucet has added a most valuable contribution to the understanding of the period. He has assembled the results of his own investigations in the archives and other unpublished documents and has presented them to the student in a scholarly and attractive way.

HÉLÈNE HARVITT

Lachèvre, Frédéric. *Bibliographie des Recueils collectifs de Poésies du XVI^e siècle (du Jardin de plaisance, 1502, aux Recueils de Toussaint du Bray, 1609) donnant: 1°. La description et le contenu des recueils. 2°. Une table générale des pièces anonymes ou signées d'initiales de ces recueils (titre et premier vers), avec l'indication du nom des auteurs pour celles qui ont pu être attribuées.* Paris, Champion, 1922, 613 pp.

Dedicated to the memory of the late Emile Picot this bibliography is a companion volume to other bibliographies already published by the author. It is planned on the same model as his *Bibliographie des recueils collectifs publiés de 1597 à 1700*. The volume was to be followed by a second part—*Pièces classées par auteurs avec notices bio-bibliographiques*, but the cost of printing and of paper being prohibitive, the author was compelled to renounce publishing that second part, which would have formed two or three large volumes. It is greatly to be regretted that M. Lachèvre has had to abandon his plan, for the second part would have been extremely useful to all students of sixteenth century poetry.

Those who often have to work at a great distance from European libraries as well as European students themselves will find the book under consideration of invaluable assistance. It will save endless hours spent in libraries and will facilitate in every way the research of the one interested in sixteenth century poetry.

M. Lachèvre gives a detailed account of the contents of each collection, a bibliography of that collection, the catalogue number of the Bibliothèque Nationale and every piece of information of a bibliographical and often of a literary nature connected with the subject. The mechanical labor alone involved in the preparation of the book is stupendous. The alphabetic tables both of the collections and of names of authors are most useful, as well as those of surnames, pseudonyms, anagrams, devices, etc. Lack of space prevents us from giving an analysis of the contents of this monumental piece of work for which all interested in sixteenth century poetry should be grateful.

HÉLÈNE HARVITT

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